

International workshop on "Global Education and Sustainable Development: Higher Education for Human Rights, Peace, and Responsibility for a Livable Future" organized by the Centre for European Studies, University of Trier, September 8-11, 1996, sponsored by Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation, Bonn and UNESCO, Paris; CES Publication Series Volume 34 (1996):

Global Education and Sustainable Development:

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Contradictions in Higher Education

BERND HAMM

Abstract: Contradictions in Higher Education

Starting with the assumption that the general goal of higher education is to prepare young people for positions in decision-making, monitoring, and research tasks in society, and introduce and channel them into such positions, criteria can be developed to assess what higher education should achieve as output, and what it does or does not. Such criteria should not only respond to the presently observable critical developments in national, or European, society, but rather emphasize the idea of positive futures of the global society and its components enshrined in the concept of sustainable development. From here, contradictions in the existing systems of higher education can be outlined. Efforts towards a reform of higher education are mentioned, with special attention given to UNESCO initiatives. This is intended to prepare the stage for our workshop, and encourage further practical experiments and networking.

I. Introduction

As foreseen by the Club of Rome and others as early as the early 1970s, global society has entered a phase of profound crisis. Among the many symptoms, all interrelated, are the rapid destruction of the natural environment; climate changes; the continuous extermination of biological species; an increasing number of violent conflicts especially in the form of civil wars; millions of refugees; the debt crisis in all parts of the world; the destruction of the welfare state; increasing socio-economic polarization into rich and poor between and within societies; drug abuse; crime; AIDS, cholera and other diseases; increasing separation of real commodity and monetary flows; speculation and corruption; the inability of governments to effectively solve problems and, instead, their resort to symbolic politics; unemployment; a blind race for GNP growth despite the fact that increasing proportions are needed for repair and other defensive costs; the specialization, fragmentation and social blindness of sciences; the violation of human rights. Enough, though, to paint the future of the human race on planet Earth in dark colours. We are in the middle of the "one crisis" of the "one world society".

The two major engines driving this process are increasing globalization in the economic sphere, in transnational corporations and international financial relations on the one hand, the power structure of the emerging global society on the other. After the breakdown of socialisms, few dare to contradict the view that the

Western model of development provides an ultimate way not only to survival but to general wellbeing of all humans. However, there is a growing body of literature sceptic of this dominant view. A central argument justifying such opposition is that Western societies are the most unsatiated consumers of global natural resources. According to the Sustainable Netherlands Report of 1992, and work produced thereafter, it is in the range of ninety per cent reduction in natural resource consumption if the rich countries of today are to reach globally proportional levels. They still manage to net-import natural resources from, and net-export problems and damages to other regions of the world.

Why introduce a presentation on Contradictions in Higher Education with remarks on the global crisis - usually considered as only loosely connected with the educational system? The global crisis is a result of decisions made by humans, usually by experts in influential and powerful positions. Experts are graduates from higher education systems. Their professional, ethical, and general outlooks are largely shaped by the systems of higher education. Therefore we have reasons to assume that at least some of the critical features of global development can be traced back to typical characteristics of higher education.

If we start from these assumptions without, however, using more time to go into details of the global crisis, and if we agree further that responsible action would aim at changing the critical path of development which means to change the ways how decisions are made, then some specific requirements which higher education should meet can be detected..

My presentation will start with a short mention of the goals of the higher education system, and then go on to enumerate some contradictions of the higher education system which have as a result that exactly those goals are not met. This being the diagnosis, I then turn to the therapy by, first, mentioning some efforts made in UNESCO, and second, pointing out where possible alternatives may be found. In this context, I shall also refer to the attempts made by the Centre for European studies. Finally I shall draw some few conclusions for our workshop.

II. General Goals of Higher Education Systems

While present generations remain responsible for creating a future which would allow future generations to satisfy at least their basic needs - to paraphrase the famous definition of "sustainable development" given by the Brundtland Commission - many tend to rely on the educational system and thus on future generations to solve the problems we face today. Even if the obligations of present-day humanity are not neglected, education will play a crucial role for shaping the future. Within the educational systems, higher education is the target of necessary reform even more than other components of the system: Not only are graduates from higher education the decision makers and opinion leaders of tomorrow, but

also the teachers for the secondary level of schooling, they are the opinion leaders in the media and therefore their perception and awareness is especially important as multipliers.

Usually we expect graduates of higher education to have acquired a broad scope of knowledge together with a strong commitment to objectivity and community responsibility. There is little doubt in the general public that experts, especially in their role as scientists, are totally dedicated to the search of truth in the interest of the common good. This assumption justifies the enormous means of funding which go into the systems of science and education, as it justifies the use of experts by all layers of governments, in all consultative functions, in court, in the media. We all who are present here have served in this function over and over again.

Now, of course, we may ask questions about whether this image is correct or not. And it can easily be argued, and find support in empirical evidence, that this image is at least only one side of the medal. It is as adequate to see experts as strongly interlinked with the structures of power and interest which they serve and by which they are funded. From this point of view, experts are far from objectivity and from the common good but rather replicate the power structure of a society, and selfishly follow their own interests. So as a part of general ideological trends higher education (and, more generally, the system of scientific research) has succeeded to produce and proliferate. Experts, in this interpretation, are first of all experts in pursuing their own interests. From my own knowledge and experience I would feel that there are many reasons to take this position as serious as the positive one.

Obviously, both positions are seriously overgeneralizing. Both views can call empirical evidence to support their point. Both aspects exist even within an individual expert. So they are not mutually exclusive. The more interesting and more relevant question might then be about the structural conditions which work in favour of one or the other of these aspects. And this is one way to come back to higher education which obviously is among the structural features shaping experts behavior.

Higher education not only serves to transfer specialized knowledge to certain individuals who then become experts, but also to channel these individuals into the relevant and decision-making positions in society, i.e. the fields of policy-making and the economy, in the schools and in science, in the military and the health systems. It is not only the substantial knowledge of one or the other object that matters in higher education, but also the professional outlooks and career orientations which are transferred. Again, this is not independent of the social context in which it happens.

On an abstract level, there will be general agreement in the definition of the goals of higher education: to develop individuals which are not only able to earn their

own living and therefore must be adaptable to future situations in a rapidly changing world, but also exhibit strong social responsibility and a deeper understanding of one's own role in the global context. But this is consensus by abstraction. The overall thesis in this paper is that these goals describe often the ideological surface rather than the practical reality. This would of course be an essential problem: If the system of higher education tends, by its very structure, to produce selfish and socially blind individuals, and if these individuals are channelled into decision-making positions, then it might be higher education itself which at least partly must be accused of contributing to the global crisis.

III. Contradictions in Higher Education

From this point of view, we can easily detect a number of severe contradictions inherent in the present systems of higher education. My view here is shaped by the experience of social science education in Germany.

In general, higher education has come under pressure by sharp cut backs in funding and ongoing public austerity measures. The broad impression is that what comes in disguise of sound educational theory on the level of individual governments - adjustment of higher education to practice, shorter duration of study, cut backs in fellowships to improve students motivation, credit funding instead of grants, improvement of teaching and evaluation, and other issues - is very often not more than a poorly wrapped attempt to save costs. Policy statements made by lookout institutions like the Delors commission etc. increasingly divert from what governments do in reality.

1. Epistemology: Neither positivism or empiricism dominating mainstream sociology, nor abstract modelling dominating mainstream economics, nor the extreme diversity of theoretical approaches as in political science are able and willing to arrive at an understanding of the global crisis. Positivism and empiricism accept only evidence derived from the use of systematic research methodology. Researchers have to rely on data. Data can be criticized on the grounds of validity and reliability, but more important is the fact that data can only be drawn from the past. Thus, if you use empirical statistical data from national sources to describe the structure of European society, you are inescapably caught in the logic of the nation-state, and miss the essential feature of European society, i.e. institution building. This is only one of the numerous examples to demonstrate the fundamental weaknesses in positivist epistemology. Complexity, dialectics, future relevance are at the very nature of the problems which positivism is unable to understand.

2. Substance: Mainstream Sociology, economics, or political science tend to pretend that the present stage of development in the West, with market driven economies, decision-making according to the majority rule and citizen

participation by elections, together with individualization describe the end of history, the ultimate goal of development in whatever society on earth, the very peak of human civilization. This is what “modernization theory” tells us. Not only are such “theories” only loosely connected with empirical reality; they are also bound to specific historical circumstances and therefore blind for innovation, and deeply ethnocentric, and therefore without respect, and blind for a productive exchange with other cultures. Moreover, there is hardly any serious debate on the relevance of issues for research and teaching. Universities tend to cater for a primadonna culture in which every individual’s specialty is relevant per definition. In an atmosphere dominated by analytical break-down approaches to reality, phenomena of syndrom character tend to disappear between areas of competence.

3. *Disciplinarity*: The global crisis goes far beyond the scope of any given scientific discipline. While this is widely acknowledged in rhetoric, reality - under the pressures described - is becoming even more rigid along disciplinary lines. Knowledge tends to be accumulated and communicated in disciplinary channels. This is the way how social institutions tend to be organized, from federal and provincial ministries via lobbies through research funding institutions. Disciplines themselves are social organizations as, e.g., professional associations defending their vested interests.

4. *Time horizon*: Mostly, the time horizon of scientific disciplines is short and retrospective. Long-range future options have no reputation as a subject in academia. Also in the curricula, shorter terms of study might be accepted, and even be a good idea, if and only if they are embedded in programmes of lifelong learning. Such programmes, however, are the exception much more than the rule. For to provide a sound basis for life-long learning, higher education should give less weight to disciplinary specialization, and rather become more of an extended form of general education in an increasingly complex world.

5. *The common good vs. profit orientation*: Experts, i.e. graduates from higher education, seem to be experts, first of all, in the art of reaching their own profit goals. This is in fact what higher education transmits. Insofar, higher education cannot be seen isolated from a social environment which is increasingly dominated by vulgar social darwinist ideology. The university tends to award competitive individualism before team-work and group solidarity.

6. *Value freedom vs. social responsibility*: The positivist ideology of value-freedom is usually interpreted as alignment with the interests of the ruling elites. This was of course not only the case under socialist or totalitarian regimes. Critics of capitalism have always been, and are increasingly, dissidents in the West. Pro-government views dominate over commitments to people, state interests over those of the civil society. The general outlook (“savoir pour prévoir, prévoir pour gouverner”, to use Auguste Comtes definition) is one of governance, one which

looks at society as something manageable, manipulable, usually expressed in aggregate terminology.

7. Ethnocentric vs. global orientation: In general, higher education tends to be basically ethnocentric. Even if we encourage students to spend part of their studies in other countries, these are mostly countries of similar culture, and if not they are usually looked at through the spectacles of the West.

Enough deficiencies, one might think, to agree on the need for thorough reform of higher education systems. UNESCO has been at the forefront in this debate, and recently added the Report of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century (chaired by Jacques Delors) on Learning: The Treasure Within, to it. It might be worthwhile to look at several of its initiatives.

IV. UNESCO Reform Initiatives

This paragraph will draw some lines of history, but not cover recent developments in the Medium Term Strategy which certainly will be done by the UNESCO representatives who attend our workshop (see also the materials collected by Simona Thomas for this workshop).

Since long, and more in the context of international understanding, peace, and human rights than in the context of global ecology, UNESCO has made efforts to initiate and propagate reform in higher education. Let me only mention few of them:

a. An initiative taken under Major Programme I in the Biennial Programme and Budget for 1988/89, to draw up, "on an experimental basis, at under-graduate and postgraduate levels, of teaching and research programmes centred on the analysis of world problems, their interdependence, and their implications for the future, with a view to better understanding of this new area of knowledge and acquainting certain researchers with the findings and methods of future-oriented research on world problems. Incorporation of these programmes in the curricula of certain universities with a view to providing further training to particular groups of graduates from higher education" (para. 01005 - 2.3 in 24 C/5).

b. The provisions contained in the Third Medium Term Plan of UNESCO for the 1991-1995 period (para 397 of the 25 C/4), to "support and promote the regional and international networks of institutions of higher education and research on peace and international understanding".

c. Project UNITWIN and its adjacent UNESCO Chairs scheme, launched upon the initiative of the Director General of UNESCO with a view to reinforce inter-university cooperation and academic mobility through twinning, networking and other linking arrangements among universities and having as their primary

objective to assist the developing countries in building up their high-level training and research capacities.

d. The proposal to set up an integrated network of European university studies and research, under the provisional title of The University of the Peoples of Europe, which was launched by the Soviet Union during the Fourth European Conference of Ministers of Education (MINEDEUROPE IV, 1988). The initiative had no visible effect.

e. A series of expert consultations held on related topics, notably by the European Academy of Sciences, Arts and Humanities together with UNESCO, from december 1987 until july 1989 to discuss some projects in global and future-oriented education, and to stimulate others. The initiative was later on seconded by the Futures Studies Unit, and by the Higher Education Unit. The latter supported a number of pilot projects in all regions of the world which were evaluated in an international meeting in Tunis in 1991 (Calleja 1995).

f. Prep.21, an initiative of the World Future Society, to introduce Futures Studies at all universities world-wide by the year 2000. Similarly, the World Futures Studies Federation has made efforts, supported by UNESCO, to proliferate futures education in some regions of the world.

g. The recent launching, upon an initiative by UNESCO's Director General, of GENie, the Global Problématique Education Network Initiative, with founding members from 12 countries worldwide.

h. At an expert meeting on futures studies organized by the Centre for European Studies (Bosen, august 1990), and again at a meeting to promote such studies in the Pacific Basin region (Vancouver, june 1992), state of affairs reports made clear that most of the existing projects throughout the world still remain initiatives of one or very few persons. Resting on few shoulders, they severely lack institutional recognition and stability.

Moreover, UNESCO has made it its duty to associate itself with numerous other initiatives taken by various institutions and non-governmental organizations which are active in the area of peace and human rights education and research. The UNESCO World Directory of Peace Research and Training Institutions contains entries a large majority of which are university institutes, centres and departments. Similarly, the World Directory of Human Rights Teaching and Research Institutes, also produced by UNESCO, contains entries most of which are based in universities. Of the over 500 non-governmental organizations with which UNESCO maintains co-operation relations, the academic and scientific ones represent a large majority. UNESCO has established recently a special framework for cooperation with some 25 major NGOs of higher education, including the

International Association of Universities (IAU), the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU), the Association des Universités Partiellement ou Entièrement de Langue Française (AUPELF) - all having category A status with UNESCO, with the regional university associations in Africa (AAU), Latin America (UDUAL), Arab countries (AAU) and Europe (CRE), etc. It is a Collective Consultation which reunites periodically to establish priorities in the work they agree to undertake jointly.

All these initiatives are directed to, and rely on the active participation of, institutions of higher education. Institutions of higher education are especially relevant because they form the main actors, the opinion leaders and the decision-makers of tomorrow's political, economic, educational, cultural, communication, and scientific scene. It is therefore extremely important to give these people a perspective and an understanding of the global society and of urgent world problems which goes beyond the narrow limits of specialized disciplinary studies. As they are not only decision-makers but also opinion leaders and multipliers, such understanding may gradually diffuse, via the media, to other levels of the education system and will thus indirectly influence the perceptions and outlooks of large proportions of the population. It is therefore surprising that the Associated Schools Project, despite its great success and wide acceptance, has not yet been successfully and on a large scale extended into the systems of higher education at an earlier stage. This is the intention of the UNESCO Associated Universities Project adopted by the General Conference in 1993.

All initiatives have in mind teaching, training, and research programmes devoted to a broad variety of issues and concerns, i.e. curricula which complement academic studies in any special field with transdisciplinary, problem-oriented, future-oriented, global or at least international contents. *Studium integrale* means something which gives a common background to the multiplicity of academic disciplines, traditions, or schools of thought. It is not to be mixed up with interdisciplinarity in an additive sense. It is rather a concept of transdisciplinary or meta-disciplinary learning. Its basic assumptions are that (i) all scientific problem-solving strategies have their origin and end in society. There is no research problem which has not found its definition and acceptance in social processes, and there is no research result which would not have its impact on society; therefore, a *studium integrale* must transmit a basic understanding of the individual, society and environment and their mutual interdependence, including one's own role as an academic and a specialist in society, and a critical reflection on the role and ethical responsibility of all the sciences; (ii) in our days of history, there is only one way to understand and define society, i.e. as global society. It is the future of this global society which strongly demands for new orientations in an age of profound social change as the one we live in. Consequently, a *studium integrale* must rest on the concept of global society for which we are responsible, and thus have a strong basis in global social sciences (in the broad sense, including aspects of history,

political science, human geography, economics, sociology, philosophy, law, psychology and social anthropology; the "non-social" sciences come in where the phenomena they study are directly related to human behavior and to social action as, e.g., in environmental studies, technology and society, or genetic engineering).

All initiatives include the idea of international networking and exchange among institutions of higher education. Exchange is a learning experience on the one side, and allows a better understanding of comparative advantages or needs on the other. Exchange creates empathy which is the basis for international understanding, for the appreciation of other cultures and respect for other people. To facilitate exchange, some degree of coordination is advisable. To be reliable for students and faculty, such coordination should be based on networks of institutions of higher education interlinked by contracts for cooperation and partnership. International exchange of students and faculty is the practice of international education.

However, already in 1983, in a document prepared by the UNESCO Secretariat for an Intergovernmental Conference convened in order to review the implementation of the 1974 Recommendation, it was indicated that "there seems to be less concern about introducing international education at the level of higher education" (Doc. ED/83.CONF.214.4, p. 14). Later on in 1986, in Athens, an International Consultation on Ways of Improving Educational Action at the Level of Higher Education to Provide Students with the Necessary Knowledge of Problems Related to Peace and Respect for Human Rights and the Rights of Peoples, underlined the important role of higher education institutions in initiating research and in elaborating educational programmes based on the principles, methods and effects of international education as provided for by the 1974 Recommendation.

The Consultative Committee on Steps to Promote the Full and Comprehensive Implementation of the 1974 Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, at its fourth session (Paris 14-17 december 1992), "recognized the idea of setting up an international network of UNESCO Associated Universities as most commendable and timely, particularly in view of the accomplishments of the Associated Schools Project (ASP), and endorsed the aims and objectives of the new network." It was, however, of the opinion that "timetables and other considerations to implement the proposal may be revised to make them more realistic and ensure harmonization with the existing budgets and intersectoral interaction policy declared by the Executive Board". Some caution was expressed by the Consultative Committee when it said that "prior to the launching of the new network, its promoters should be fully aware of the potential "market" for it, since a considerable investment of time, effort and money is involved" (final report, ED-92/CONF. 502, p. 7).

The Associated Schools Project was launched soon after the foundation of UNESCO, namely in 1953, with an aim of helping schools and teachers to put into practice the new ideas on education for international understanding which were being developed by UNESCO. The first meeting of Associated Schools united only 21 participants, representing a total of 33 schools in 15 Member States. By 1984, the number of schools associated to the project had grown to approximately 1.800, in 90 Member States. At present, it boasts of over 2.500 schools at primary, secondary and teacher-training levels in 101 countries. The spectacular success of ASP resides in the simple message it carries and in the effort to avoid overloaded bureaucratic structures in its functioning. The Associated Schools do not constitute a category apart of educational institutions: they are part and parcel of the national education systems in the respective countries which pledge to undertake specific measures in order to put into practice the lofty ideals written down in the UNESCO Constitution. UNESCO is linked to the Associated Schools in each country via the National Commissions for UNESCO which is the body recommending schools to UNESCO for the "Associated" status. The most important link is between the associated schools themselves.

What has been said indicates that the UNESCO Associated Universities Project can make use with great profit of the experience gained by ASP. But it must do so in full awareness of the specificity of higher education vis à vis the other levels of the educational system. This specificity resides not only in its functions and tasks, or in the fact that it represents that level of education where teaching, training, research and service to the community are most intimately linked. Higher education also has a special responsibility towards all other levels of education through the training of the staff required by these and through the educational research it undertakes. It is here where should reside both the specificity and the complementarity of the envisaged UNESCO Associated Universities Project relative to the Associated Schools Project.

20. Prep.21 is a US initiative born also in 1987 in the World Future Society with a view to introduce, by the year 2000, futures studies in the curricula of all colleges and universities worldwide. The definition of futures studies used in this initiative makes clear that it is essentially the same idea as in the other proposals: it is defined as a "broadly integrative area of study embracing trends, forecasts and proposals for human betterment in any or all of the following areas: global issues, world problématique; population, resources, environment; science, technology, society; peace studies, national security; world economy, development, debt, hunger, unemployment; government, macropolicy, policy analysis; education, communications, learning needs; cities, housing, transportation; health promotion, biotechnology, health care systems; methods for forecasting, strategic planning, managing complexity, creating visions".

There was general agreement, in all the meetings I attended, that the contents of alternative educational programmes should be based on a holistic, transdisciplinary, transnational, and future-oriented approach. Students should be acquainted with a view of global problems and with a minimum understanding of the interdependencies in the emerging global society. This it was assumed would lead to a personal ethic and responsible behavior. There was, however, general disagreement about the didactical forms in which such programmes should be offered to students. From an enrichment in individual, disciplinary courses by international content as the most modest version, the different options range via full minor or major programmes to the International Holistic University, Brasil. There was a general understanding that such diversity should by no means be restricted. Rather, all different attempts should be carefully evaluated, and the results of such evaluation made available to all interested.

V. The Centre for European Studies

The Centre for European Studies at Trier University was conceived in the context of the UNESCO efforts mentioned. Being a loose association of faculty members of several disciplines across some faculties, it aims at developing and introducing a *Studium integrale* to be offered to all students of whatever discipline. In addition, it will develop continuing education programmes and post-graduate programmes, all under the general title of European Integration in the Context of Globalization. The Centre is the first institution of higher education in Germany having been awarded a UNESCO Chair, and it has concluded an agreement of co-operation with UNESCO in 1993. It has recently received financial support from the Nikolaus Koch-Foundation together with the responsible Land Ministry of Science and Education which is being used to achieve this goal. Within approximately one year from now, a proposal will be submitted to the University Senate to establish the Centre as a central university unit.

Sustainable Development - Democracy - Capitalism: The Livable Future in Europe of the 21st Century.

ANTONI KUKLIŃSKI

*"Projecting current trends is always
wrong. Such projections miss the
turning points in human events."
Lester C. Thurow*

Introduction

Development is one of the greatest concepts promoted by the splendid and miserable 20th century. I think that the Fifty Years 1950-2000 can, inter alia, be described as the time of the Grand Developmental Debate. The theoretical, empirical and pragmatic dimensions of the Debate are reflected in innumerable publications and documents created or produced by the academic communities, governmental institutions and international organizations. The analysis of this Grand Debate is outside the terms of reference of this paper.

Three comments are appropriate in this context:

1. Development is a multidimensional concept extremely difficult to pinpoint in both cognitive terms and pragmatic terms. In short, it is an elusive concept to use the terminology of M. Wolfe¹⁾.
2. The Grand Developmental Debate can be seen as a substantive phenomenon to improve the cognitive power of this concept and the efficiency of the pragmatic applications of this concept.
3. The Grand Developmental Debate can be seen as a decorative phenomenon, as a political and academic "*ars gratia arte*" performance leaving no intentions to enter into the real mechanisms of the Developmental Drama of the 20th century.

The present discussion on Sustainable Development is a new chapter of this Grand Developmental Debate. The Trier Workshop is creating an excellent opportunity to analyze sustainable development in the framework of the Grand Developmental Debate trying, inter alia, to answer the questions to what extent Sustainable Development is an "elusive" concept, a "substantive" concept and a "decorative" concept. There are different ways to shape an analytical pattern of this type. In this paper I will try to concentrate our attention on the question - to what extent the real democracy of today and the real capitalism of today are creating conditions and

mechanisms for sustainable development. This mind set is the framework of my paper organized along the following topics:

- I. Capitalism and Democracy as a "most improbable" mixture.
- II. The Failure of Real Democracy of today to create conditions and mechanisms of sustainable development.
- III. The Failure of Real Capitalism of today to create conditions and mechanisms of sustainable development.
- IV. Sustainable Development as *conditio sine qua non* of a Livable Future. The basic idea of "La prospective."
- V. The Livable Future in Global Perspective.
- VI. The Livable Future in the Europe of the 21st century.
- VII. The Research Priorities.
- VIII. The Education of the Elite. The Education of the Society at Large. The Academic Education.

I. Capitalism and Democracy as a "most improbable" mixture

Let me quote the final sentence of the challenging book of A. M. Okun²⁾:

"A democratic capitalist society will keep searching for better ways of drawing the boundary lines between the domain of rights and the domain of dollars. And it can make progress. To be sure, it will never solve the problem, for the conflict between equality and economic efficiency is inescapable. In that sense, capitalism and democracy are really a most improbable mixture. Maybe that is why they need each other - to put some rationality into equality and some humanity into efficiency."

The 20th century has found an answer how to put "some humanity into efficiency."

This answer was the creation of the welfare state. In this context, I would like to suggest to analyze the experiences of the welfare states as institutions eliminating the mechanisms of social self-destruction which were incorporated in the nature of the classical *laissez-faire* capitalism.

To my mind, the welfare state was a very important mechanism to create the conditions for Sustainable Development as a long-term phenomenon integrating the power of economic growth and broad dissemination of the fruits of the growth via generous social programmes.

It is a question, whether the present deep and comprehensive crisis³⁾ of the welfare state will lead to a total liquidation of this formation - following the neoliberal approaches - or whether the present crisis will lead to a metamorphosis of the welfare state which will re-emerge again in the experience of the 21st century?

II. The Failure of Real Democracy of today to create conditions and mechanisms of sustainable development

Sustainable Development can be promoted only in the framework of long-term strategic thinking. The real democracy of today is dominated by short-term approaches adapted to the cycle of consecutive electoral timetables. In this cycle the sustainable development (meaning not only the development now but also in the future) is assuming a very low priority in the system of macropolitical and macrosocial decisions. This deficiency of democracy as a political system was in the past eliminated or diminished by charismatic leaders who were able to design and implement grand visions outside the limits of populist imagination. Unfortunately, at the turn of the 20th and 21st century the global supply of charismatic leaders is extremely limited.

Sustainable Development means the solution of the conflict between the old and young generation in favour of the young generation expressed, inter alia, in the proportions between the resources allocated for the benefits of the old generations and the resources allocated for the education of the young generation. In most countries, this choice is made now in the favour of the old generation for the simple reason that this generation has a much stronger electoral power than the young generation has. According to L. C. Thurow⁴⁾, "Poland gives more of its GNP to the elderly (21 per cent) than any other country on earth." This is probably an exaggeration but the level of allocation of this type is really very high. This phenomenon is taking place in the historical moment when the Sustainable Development of Poland in the 21st century should be prepared by a very efficient system of national education improving the chances of the young Poles on the European and on the global scene of the 21st century. It is just the opposite - the Polish system of national education is in a deep financial and managerial crisis.

The dramatic conflict between the young generation and the elder generation is presented by L. C. Thurow⁵⁾:

"If one is looking for a group in need, it is not the elderly. The group with the highest proportion now in poverty is children under the age of eighteen. Yet government spends nine times as much per person on the elderly (those who do vote) as it does on the young (those who don't vote). Precisely the group that most needs investments if there is to be a successful American economy in the future is the group that is getting the least. How are they to pay taxes to support the elderly if they don't have the skills to earn their own incomes?"

In the years ahead, class warfare is apt to be redefined to mean not the poor against the rich but the young against the old. As a young Frenchwoman said during a strike to protest government laws that would have lowered the wages of the young, 'We have no future! That's why we're out here.' In America this conflict is already clear. The elderly systematically vote against education levies when they have a chance. The elderly establish segregated restricted retirement communities for themselves where the young are not allowed to live so that they do not have to pay for schools.

The most dramatic recent example of impending social conflict occurred in Kalkaska, Michigan, a retirement haven, where elderly voters essentially robbed the school budget to pay for other things such as snow plowing and then refused to vote the funds to allow the schools to finish the school year. Schools closed months early and some of Michigan's schoolchildren missed much of a year's schooling. While the elderly are probably still interested in their own grandchildren, they no longer live in the same communities with their grandchildren. Each of those elderly Kalkaska voters could vote against educating someone else's grandchildren yet convince themselves that somehow voters elsewhere in America would treat their grandchildren differently.

The implicit post-World War II social contract has been that parents will take care of children but that society, the taxpayer, will take care of parents. Both parts of that bargain are collapsing. More and more parents are not taking care of children, and the taxpayer is going to have to retreat from his promise to take care of the elderly."

I would like to add the following observation related to the U.S. experience. The Generation of Ronald Reagan won the "World War III" and destroyed the Soviet Union as a first class global power. But the Bill for that operation was "sent" to the grandchildren of Ronald Reagan via the mechanism of public indebtedness. In more general terms - the mechanism of public indebtedness is changing itself into a powerful instrument destroying the sustainable development in the 21st century. The real democracy of today is not a Friend of Sustainable Development in the 21st century. This means not that democracy should be destroyed and replaced by non-democratic solutions. It means only - that the democracy of today must be deeply transformed in order to survive the experience of the 21st century.

Will the Singapurian experience be useful in the discussion of this Grand Dilemma? I am convinced that we could find some scholars and politicians who would represent the point of view, that Singapore is the only place in the world where the model of sustainable development is designed and implemented. Is the Singapurian model a model of hope or of a nightmare?

III. The Failure of Real Capitalism of today to create conditions and mechanisms of sustainable development

Let me say once more: "Sustainable Development can be promoted only in the framework of long-term Strategic Thinking." This art and ability is outside the scope of interest of real capitalism today. The pathbreaking book of L. C. Thurow⁶⁾ presents a very convincing documentation of this observation. Let us read a few sentences of this book:

"In capitalism there is no analysis of the distant future. There is no concept that anyone must invest in the plant and equipment, skills, infrastructure, research and development, or environmental protection that are necessary for national growth and rising individual standards of living. There simply is no social "must" in capitalism. If individuals choose not to save and invest, growth will not occur, but so be it. Individual decisions maximize total welfare even if they lead to stagnant societies."⁷⁾

"This leaves a simple question. Who is in command of the social system? Since capitalism believes that there is no social system, its answer is no one. Yet that is not an acceptable answer in the twenty-first century."⁸⁾

"Every social system has weaknesses and strengths. Capitalism's strength is its ability to cater to different individual preferences. Capitalism's biggest weakness is its myopia. It intrinsically has a short time horizon. Private business firms usually use three-to-five-year planning horizon. In the past, long-term government investments have come to the rescue of capitalism. But they are now being cut back - partly because of the spirit of the times, partly because of the cut-backs in defence budgets, and partly because of the budgetary pressures created by the elderly. The GI Bill of the 1950s and the National Defense Education Act of the 1960s are both gone - 50 per cent fewer American Ph.D.s in science and engineering are being trained than two decades ago. In accordance with the spirit of the times, at the undergraduate level state universities are relying less and less on public money and more and more on tuition payments from students. At private universities loans have to a great extent replaced scholarships. If one looks at state and local spending cut-backs in the 1991-92 recession, they were disproportionately concentrated on elementary and secondary education."⁹⁾

"Technology and ideology are shaking the foundations of twenty-first-century capitalism. Technology is making skills and knowledge the only resources of sustainable strategic advantage. Abetted by the electronic-media, ideology is moving towards a radical form of short-run individual consumption maximisation at precisely a time when economic success will depend upon the willingness and ability to make long-run social investments in skills, education, knowledge, and infrastructure. When technology and ideology start moving apart, the only question is when will the "big one" (the earthquake that rocks the system) occur. Paradoxically, at precisely the time when capitalism finds itself with no social competitors - its former competitors, socialism or communism, having died - it will have to undergo a profound metamorphosis."¹⁰⁾

The profound metamorphosis of capitalism will be a shift from "consumption ideology to a builder's ideology." Let me quote L. C. Thurow again:

"No sensible person has never set the goal of reducing his or her own consumption. Saving is not fun. But participating in the process of using the funds released by saving to build something can be fun. If it is to succeed, the capitalism of the future will have to shift from a consumption ideology to a builder's ideology. Growth is not an automatic process of quietly moving from one equilibrium point to another.

The growth path is a noisy process of disequilibrium where a lot of fun is to be had. Technology is not manna from heaven. It is a social process of human creation and innovation. In this context investment must be seen, not as a cost to be avoided, but as a direct generator of utility to be embraced. The individual who invests in what will probably be the most valuable skills that any individual can have, the ability to operate in a global economy, is not being forced to sacrifice consumption but is building a skill set that will bring more enjoyment than an item of consumption."¹¹⁾

It is very easy to understand that the "builder's ideology" is a much better framework for Sustainable Development than the "consumption ideology."

IV. Sustainable Development as a *conditio sine qua non* of a Livable Future. The basic idea of "La prospective"

There are many approaches and methodologies in the field of long-term thinking about the future. To my mind, however, the best approach is incorporated in the basic idea of "La prospective" as outlined by Michel Godet¹²⁾:

"Prospective is neither forecasting nor futurology, but a mode of thinking for action and against fatalism. Prospective recognizes that the future is the 'raison d'être of the present', that it is multiple and uncertain, and that it is a way for everyone to take control of their own futures.

Those who claim to foretell or forecast the future are inevitably liars, for the future is not written anywhere - it is still to be constructed. This is fortunate, for without this uncertainty, human activity would lose its degree of freedom and its meaning - the hope of a desired future. If the future were totally foreseeable and certain, the present would become unliveable. Certainty is death.

Thus, the first aim of prospective thought is to illuminate the choices of the present by the light of possible futures. Good forecasts are not necessarily those which are realized, but those which lead to action to avoid the dangers and arrive at the desired objective.

The frequent errors that occur in forecasting and the notable absence of forecasts of crises, bear witness to the crisis in forecasting itself. The impossibility of seeing ahead into the future solely by means of using past data, explains the futility of classical economic models, which fail to include qualitative and unquantifiable parameters, such as projects entertained by, and the behaviour of the principal actors. The future must be studied with a view to illuminating the present; that is the basic idea which inspires 'la prospective' ".

The integration of the ideas and approaches of L. C. Thurow and M. Godet leads to a new definition of Sustainable Development "as a construction of a Livable Future." Are there any chances that this definition will be accepted by the principal actors of the global scene?

V. The Livable Future in Global Perspective

Is the present trend of globalization the manifestation of Sustainable Development as "the construction of Livable Future"? Let us consider the neoliberal vision of the global scene of the 21st century as presented in the bold and controversial paper of I. O. Angel³⁾:

"Peter Drucker has a very interesting forecast. He says that humanity is polarizing into two employment categories: the intellectual, cultural and business elite (the mobile knowledge workers), and the rest (the immobile service workers). In a similar vein, Robert Reich believes there will be three categories: symbolic-analytic services (the knowledge workers who are problem identifiers, solvers and brokers), in-person services, and routine production services. The latter two groups roughly correspond to Drucker's service workers. Routine production services can either be replaced by robots or exported anywhere on the globe, and wages in this sector are already beginning to converge worldwide to Third World levels. This is having the (slightly less extreme) knock-on effect of dragging down the wages of in-person service workers - a sector which is itself being increasingly automated. Inevitably the slow redistribution of wealth that has occurred over the last century is being reversed, rapidly. Societies are stratifying and new elites are appearing. The future is inequality; at the very bottom of the heap, western societies are already witnessing the emergence of a rapidly expanding underclass.

Now we can see that knowledge workers are the real generators of wealth. These owners of intellectual and financial wealth will be made welcome anywhere in the world; and more so, both companies and countries will be competing with each other to attract them - and to keep them. In May 1994 the UK government offered British nationality to anyone willing to invest £ 200 000 in Britain. It is only a matter of time before intellectual capital such as scientific expertise will be included on the balance sheet.

On the other side of the coin, there is a growing realization that each service worker is a net loss both to the state and to the company - they cost far more than they generate. Companies will be reducing the wages and staffing levels of service workers, and it is no accident that most Western companies are presently instigating major downsizing programmes. This is all happening against a background of an exploding population in the Third World (95% of the world's population increase is in developing countries), who through television can see science and technology making 'the rich richer and the poor poorer'. To combat the inevitable mass migrations, state barriers are being thrown up everywhere to keep out alien service workers; each state has a surplus of its own to support. It is already happening in California. Proposition 187 intends to bar the nearly two million illegal immigrants from schools, welfare services, and all but emergency health care. How long will it be before there are 'differential rights' for 'differentiated citizens', identified in a data base and policed by smart cards? How long before the notion of 'Human Rights' is as outdated as the 'Divine Right of Kings'?"

My reaction to the vision of I. O. Angel was formulated in the following way¹⁴⁾:

"It is a highly convincing contribution for those who accept the neoliberal framework of value judgement as a framework which will organize the global scene of the 21st century. This means that the 21st century will be an improved version of the 19th century. This means also, that this improved version will create conditions and motivations for the Second Bolshevik Revolution."

This discussion leads to new questions.

1. To what extent globalization is a positive trend leading to a livable future on the global scale?
2. To what extent globalization is a trend leading to a livable future in some regions of the world and to an unlivable future in other regions of the world?
3. To what extent globalization is the trend leading to a livable future for the global elite as defined by I. O. Angel and to an unlivable future for the old and new global proletariat?

VI. The Livable Future in the Europe of the 21st century¹⁵⁾

The European Future is an integral element of the Global Future. It is an interesting and challenging question to what extent the United and Integrated Europe will have the power, will and ability to defend successfully the European identity in the growing ocean of aggressive global transformations.

To my mind, there are four scenarios of a Livable Future in the Europe of the 21st century.

A. The Franciscan Scenario

The European Paradise of Social Justice, Social Cohesion and Social Solidarity. The identity of Europe defined by Federal Europe as a Grand Welfare State. Is this magnificent Dream about a Livable Europe totally unrealistic?

B. The Darwinian Scenario

The grand and efficient machinery of the European Union is totally subordinated to the doctrine of the "survival of the fittest." This machinery is supporting the strongest enterprises, institutions, communities, regions, and localities in Europe to strengthen their capacity as actors on the competitive global scene. In this scenario Europe is a continent of Polarized Development creating a Livable Future for the strong actors and an Unlivable Future for the weak.

C. The Thuroonian Scenario

This is the scenario of real Sustainable Development as "long-run social investment in skills, education, knowledge, and infrastructure." This is the scenario which is an integration of the positive elements of the Franciscan and Darwinian scenarios. The long-term social investment policy leads to:

1. the improvement of the competitive power of European economy,
2. the improvement of the competitive power of the broad strata of the European society.

In this framework two contradictory goals, primo - to make stronger the competitive power of the European economy, secundo - to make weaker the polarization mechanism inside the European society, can be - at least to some extent - reconciled.

D. The Singapurian Scenario

The Thuroonian Scenario is based on the assumption that both the political system of democracy and the economic system of capitalism will successfully face the challenge of a "profound metamorphosis." After this metamorphosis the processes of Sustainable Development as the "construction of a Livable Future in Europe" will emerge as a feasible reality of the 21st century.

If, however, Europe will not be able to face this challenge - and the trends of economic weakness and political and social disorganization (anarchy) will get the upper hand - there will be only one choice for Europe to survive as a "livable" continent. This choice is to accept the Singapurian model limiting the scope of individual freedom in exchange for the improved economic efficiency, social order and security. The Singapurian Scenario is a deep contradiction in relation to the fundamental principles of the European civilization and culture. Will the 21st century be an age of the Renaissance of these principles or will the 21st century bring along the extinction of these Principles? Depending on the answer - we shall have or not have the Singapurian Scenario in Europe.

VII. The Research Priorities

I hope that this paper on "Sustainable Development - Democracy - Capitalism - The Livable Future in Europe of the 21 century" is a modest contribution to the Grand Developmental Debate. However, the six chapters of this paper are only scratching the surface of very profound cognitive and pragmatic processes - which create "sustainable development as the construction of the Livable Future."

I would like to suggest to look once more at the contents of these six chapters as an intellectual inducement to outline a set of research priorities related to "Sustainable Development - Democracy - Capitalism - The Livable Future in Europe of the 21 century."

An International Research Programme in this field should be a new source of innovative approaches in three domains:

- A) in the domain of Research - pushing the Grand Developmental Debate into new theoretical and empirical fields;
- B) in the domain of Pragmatic Activities - suggesting a Grand Critical Debate on the metamorphosis of democracy and capitalism;
- C) in the domain of Teaching and Education to improve the capacity of the society at large and especially the young generation - to internalize Sustainable Development as the construction to a Livable Future.

The proposed Research Programme should be a successful exercise in the art of an integrated social science approach.

VIII. The Education of the Elite. The Education of the Society at Large. The Academic Education

In the pessimistic scenario no educational efforts can change the grand trends of globalization which promote the Livable Future for some individuals and communities and the Unlivable Future for some other individuals and communities.

Contra spem sperare. We have to accept the optimistic assumption that the educational activities are creating new knowledge and abilities which change the World in a positive direction. In the field of Sustainable Development we need new knowledge. Maybe the content of this paper is a very modest answer - how to find this new knowledge? We also have to find new approaches in the field of education.

For example, it will probably be easier to attract the minds of the young generation - to discuss the problems of Sustainable Development in the framework of the changing nature of democracy and capitalism - than in the framework of conventional methodological technicalities.

I hope that I will be able to present this paper not only in the framework of the Trier Workshop but also to different groups of students involved in economic, sociological, political geographical, and historical sciences.

As far as the education of the Elites is concerned - we have to consider as a brainstorming example - the contributions of Y. Dror⁶⁾. These contributions are also extremely important as a sources of new approaches to "Sustainable Development as the construction of Livable Future."

Conclusions

The title of my paper - Sustainable Development - Democracy - Capitalism - Livable Future - should be seen as a modest contribution to promote a new approach in this field, especially as an attempt to try to answer the following questions:

1. How to break out from the magic circle of illusions created by the decorative function of sustainable development,
 - a) how to develop a realistic and holistic interpretation of Sustainable Development related to the nature, the power, and the misery of the global financial management,
 - b) ditto the nature, the power, and the misery of democracy as a political system,
 - c) ditto the nature, the power, and the misery of capitalism as an economic system.
2. How to develop the arguments that Sustained Development is a *conditio sine qua non* of a Livable Future - not only in theoretical but also in pragmatic perspective.
3. How to develop different scenarios of a Livable Future in global and European scale. How to demonstrate that some scenarios are leading consistently to an Unlivable Future.
4. How to develop and promote research programmes on Sustainable Development and Livable Future. How to develop a holistic methodology in this fields.
5. How to develop metadisciplinary holistic pragmatically oriented teaching "laboratories" interpreting the substantive and realistic concept of Sustainable Development.

This list of questions is an indication that this paper is recognized by the author as the material for further discussions leading to new approaches and horizons in the Grand Developmental Debate¹⁷⁾. I am convinced that the methodological and empirical deficiencies of my contribution do not destroy the clarity of the main thesis of this paper:

"Sustainable Development and Livable Future should be related to the changing nature of democracy as a political system and the changing nature of capitalism as an economic system."

This paper is a tribute to the eternal memory of Marshall Wolfe - a very unusual Staff Member of the United Nations, a great unconventional Scholar of warm and rich personality. The contributions of Marshall Wolfe on Elusive Development are an important turning point in the Grand Developmental Debate in the framework of the United Nations.

¹⁾M. Wolfe: Elusive Development. UNRISD-ECLA 1981 - UNRISD 1994.

²⁾Arthur M. Okun: Equality and Efficiency - The Big Tradeoff. The Brookings Institution 1975, p. 120. Compare also: J. Ramos, Can growth and equity go hand in hand, CEPAL Review, vol. 58, 1995.

³⁾"Europe - Twilight of the Welfare State. For decades, Europe's generous social programs were a model of compassionate government. Now they are running up grant deficits, stifling competition and creating joblessness. Something has to change." Business Week, International Edition, November 27, 1995. Compare also: America Moves Away from the Welfare State. B. Vobejda: In a Fundamental Shift of Social Policy U.S. Legislation Stresses Self-Sufficiency. B. James: Europe, Challenged by an Explosive Issue, Follows Debate but Seeks Other Solutions. International Herald Tribune, August 3, 1996.

⁴⁾Lester C. Thurow: The Future of Capitalism. William Morrow and Company, Inc., New York 1996, p. 98.

⁵⁾Thurow, op.cit., p. 104-105.

⁶⁾Thurow, op.cit.

⁷⁾Thurow, op.cit., p. 303.

⁸⁾Thurow, op.cit., p. 304.

⁹⁾Thurow, op.cit., p. 286

¹⁰⁾Thurow, op.cit., p. 326.

¹¹⁾ Thurow, op.cit., p. 315.

¹²⁾ M. Godet: From Anticipation to Action. A Handbook of Strategic Prospective. UNESCO, Paris 1993

¹³⁾ J. O. Angel: The "Will to Power" of Scientific Knowledge Workers. [In:] Genoa Forum of UNESCO on Science and Society, UNESCO Venice Office 1996, p. 84.

¹⁴⁾ A. Kukliński: Science and the Quartet of Power. [In:] Genoa Forum..., op.cit., p. 69.

¹⁵⁾ Compare A. Kukliński (ed.), European Space - Baltic Space - Polish Space. ARL Hannover, EUROREG Warsaw 1997.

¹⁶⁾ Y. Dror: The Capacity to Govern. A Report to the Club of Rome. A Spanish version was published in December 1994, by Circulo de Lectores and Galaxia Gutenberg, Barcelona, entitled La capacidad de gobernar: Informe al Club de Roma. A Latin American edition is being published by El Fondo de Cultura Economica in Mexico City. A German version was published in February 1995 by Bertelsmann-Verlag, München, with the title Ist die Erde noch regierbar - Ein Bericht an den Club of Rome.

¹⁷⁾ The systematic analysis of the Grand Developmental Debate could be started by an inquiry into the challenging contributions of the OECD Development Center

¹⁾M. Wolfe: Elusive Development. UNRISD-ECLA 1981 - UNRISD 1994.

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⁴⁾Lester C. Thurow: The Future of Capitalism. William Morrow and Company, Inc., New York 1996, p. 98.

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- ¹⁴⁾ A. Kukliński: Science and the Quartet of Power. [In:] Genoa Forum..., op.cit., p. 69.
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- ¹⁶⁾ Y. Dror: The Capacity to Govern. A Report to the Club of Rome. A Spanish version was published in December 1994, by Circulo de Lectores and Galaxia Gutenberg, Barcelona, entitled La capacidad de gobernar: Informe al Club de Roma. A Latin American edition is being published by El Fondo de Cultura Economica in Mexico City. A German version was published in February 1995 by Bertelsmann-Verlag, München, with the title Ist die Erde noch regierbar - Ein Bericht an den Club of Rome.
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Global Problématique, Societal Transitions, the Changing Global Value System and the Individual

PETER H. METTLER

Preface

In my book “Science and Technology for 8 Billion People” (Adamantine, London, 1995; or in German at Westdeutscher Verlag, Wiesbaden, October 1996) as well as in my paper on Globalization at the last Trier symposium I have delineated parts/aspects of what I call the present “Global Problématique”, and, and of course, I also draw heavily on many of the books/ papers/ intentions of the Club of Rome as well as on the many ideas , aspects and views expressed at the many meetings of the World Future Studies Federation, which I gratefully could attend.

I. Global Problématique

After the end of the duopol, the world is in an interregnum. Chances for a new stable world situation can not yet be estimated, neither timewise nor structurally. The determining factors are most numerous. The following *four* seem to me to be amongst the most decisive ones:

- Most societies undergo dramatic *societal transitions*; it is one of the most amazing phenomena in social sciences, that, so far, almost nobody has started cataloging all the many societal forms and structures humanity has developed so far. The new world-wide communication possibilities play their decisive role right here;
- *Basic conditions* of life are also changing dramatically, e.g. food production is reclining; water and energy resources are reclining; the occident’s notion of labour, which has always been unique in comparison to similar notions in other cultures/civilisations, now is changing fundamentally, because production of commodities for mass consumption does not need big labour forces any more because of automation/roboterisation;
- The overall global system is dramatically changing its *value system*. Examples are: everyone wants to be a superpower or wants to be part of a superpower; world-wide a great number of people and even scientists believe, that the former correlation between world-view and scientific/technological success is of no relevance any more. The notion of technology transfer is centrally affected here; Globalization is a most recent phenomenon as well as occidental theory; it is not yet well documented/researched and presently highly propitious for new international conflicts or even wars;

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- The occidental notion of an *individuum* loses rapidly its reputation and influence and has not even started yet to struggle to develop counterideas, not mentioning to counteract. The only and most likely rather superficial counter-tendency seems to be the American communitarianism movement.

II. Societal Transitions

Many societal transitions are presently taking place in all regions of the globe. Regarding only my own region (or “province of the world”, as Philippe de la Saussay had called it), I presently see three such transitions:

- Generally speaking, the Occident is in the situation of a fall-back on notions and values cherished for long times in history;
- The Occident is on the way to re-interpret intrinsically euro-centered notions formerly thought to be universalistic, like law and order;
- The same holds true for democracy, freedom and multi-cultural co-habitation, but turns into a much greater challenge to the Occident's policy toward the other "global entities or players".

The **first** is, that the Occident discusses anew notions and values, deemed outdated only some years ago, like e.g.: Culture and civilisation, religion or god-states, collectivism, individualism, values and value-changes, time and the difference between economic short-term values and eternity, identity and solidarity, responsibility, nature and ecology (environment), risks, science and technology, law and justice, etc..

In some respect (whatever respect is interpreted as 'central' is rather relative), the Occident has left its futur-orientation (or optimism) and turned backward, religious, esoteric or metaphysical;

The **second** transition also points towards a different notion of collectivism, but is rooted differently: most other cultures and civilisations have great difficulties of understanding (not to talk about 'accepting') the Occident's notion of law and justice. Our identity stems from principles, whilst other identities stem from real-life collectivism, solidarities and from selfunderstood responsibilities to the collectivity with priority over individual preferences;

The **third** transition can be seen in the occidental notion of democracy and (individual) freedom (including creativity and the spirit of discovery and innovation), trying to find a stand against religious (god-)states; or the question, if Occidental liberalism and its theory of the possibility of multi-cultural co-habitation is not mis used as a weapon against the West itself.

III. Changing Global Value System

Hypothetically, within a few years/decades, we will have the following “world-players”: China, India, Japan and South-East Asia, an Islamic Federation (in whatever configuration) and an Occidental Federation (the European Union and NAFTA, separate or federated, including Latin America, parts of Africa and/or parts of the follow-up states of the former Soviet Union, or not).

Various scenarios on the relationship between them are imaginable, likely and/or desirable, but present tendencies point rather at classical power games or at an exponentially more complex Viennese Congress (sizes and ideologies, historical reminiscences and internal “societal” pressures) under the threat of a collective suicide. Such a situation could be called “paradise or desperado”.

IV. The Individual

Two preliminary remarks seem to be in place:

- South-East Asia, under Japanese hegemony, shows remarkable economic successes (scientific and technological as well). In some respect, these successes are based on Asian forms of collectivism, whilst the Occidental ideal was individualism. The Occident looks for new symbioses, like “Anthropological Production Systems”.
- Environmental or ecological degradation, probably based on present forms of science, technology and industry (production), demand new paradigms.

These two remarks are looking unlinked only to a superficial mind. One link is their simultaneity. More difficult is the phenomenon, that there are neither individual escapes nor individual solutions; only collectivism offers solutions.

It clearly was already almost impossible to bring the three previous notions, situations and/or trends together or to describe their mutual influence. In bringing in the individual, my task finally becomes lunatic. But here we are at, may be, the most serious challenge to the Occident’s notion of an individual: despite what has been said since decades, now there is just no more way around the recognition, that no individual will be any more in a position to have a truly encyclopaedic knowledge; not even with much more improved computer-tools, etc. The world has just become too complex, teams are also almost at their limits. As a result of this recognition, the question arises: though I am far from underestimating ideologies, where will the motivation for individual achievement-orientation come from, if not from the desire, to change things for the better? If people realize, that even the best is not good enough?

Secondly: as soon as an individual has reached a certain level in almost no matter what hierarchy, he or she will realize the relativity of his or her personal values

because one is often exposed to international/global contact. The individual will realize the relativity of all morals and ethics and will also give up that second stronghold of the Occident's notion of an individual.

Thirdly: What chances for an identification with any larger social entity whatsoever exist for young Occidentals, be it a community, a region or a state, be it a company, a church or a sports club, or be it a union or a political movement? What could be worth risking one's life?

What has become ultimately clear in these last years is, that we Occidentals have lost the initiative, that innovation is slacking immensely, that our creativity (including social thinking), which is the basis of any innovation, is on the way to die out.

Innovation starts with individuals who disagree and with their desire, to come up with new ideas to better the situation.

Individuality belongs to those of our resources, which we are using suboptimally and not even with consciousness. PARDIZIPP¹) (Partizipatives Delphi-Verfahren zur Zukunftsorientierten Interdisziplinären Politik-Planung) was developed as a remedy in this respect.

Contemporary World Problems and the Scientist's Responsibility: an interdisciplinary, inter-faculty Peace Education Programme in the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

DIMITRA PAPADOPOULOU

"26. Higher education should comprise civic training and learning activities for all students that will sharpen their knowledge of the major problems which they should help to solve, provide them with possibilities for direct and continuous action aimed at the solution of those problems, and improve their sense of international co-operation.

27. As post-secondary educational establishments, particularly universities, serve growing numbers of people, they should carry out programmes of international education as part of their broadened function in lifelong education and should in all teaching adopt a global approach."

[Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, UNESCO, Paris, 1974]

The interdisciplinary inter-faculty Programme titled "Contemporary World problems and the Scientist's Responsibility" was inaugurated at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki in 1993. It is the development of a broad and multi-level Peace and Human Rights Education Project which started in 1986, the International Year of Peace, provided useful experience and is now being expanded.

I think it would be useful to begin by explaining the terms "International Education", "Peace and Human Rights Education". I use these terms as they are defined by UNESCO (e.g. the Recommendation of 1974). I borrow and quote from a relevant text by Chitoran and Symonides, 1995, p. 17;

"The syntagma 'international education' has been brought into use as a broad and flexible concept, within the framework of the 1974 UNESCO Recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms. With the passage of time, this concept has tended to broaden its meaning by covering all educational endeavours aiming at better international understanding, at increasing awareness of and respect for the ideas, cultures, customs and traditions of others, at promoting cooperation among nations through closer international relations based on respect for international law, on justice and equity, at promoting peace, through studies of such topics as the causes of conflict and conflict resolution, the peaceful settlement of disputes, disarmament (including its relationship to development) and environmental issues as they relate to the human condition of 'being at peace' with nature. As a corollary of all these concerns of international education, it also covers the basic issue of human rights and freedoms, and the respect for the dignity of people as individuals and as members of their communities, especially as members of the minorities."1)

I. 1986-1992: The background of the Programme

The Programme started in 1986 under the title "Project of Dissemination and Implementation of Education for Peace and Human Rights, in Greece" and included a) a course on Education for Peace and Human Rights, which I introduced in the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (A.U.Th.) during that year (Department of Philosophy, Education and Psychology) and b) the foundation of the Institute of Education for Peace and its educational action in that area. Since then this project has been implemented continuously in two contexts: the academic context of the A.U.Th. and the Institute of Education for Peace.²⁾

Aims

The Project aims at a) making known and promoting Education for Peace and Human Rights throughout Greece and the Greek educational system, in accordance with the UNESCO resolutions and texts such as the Recommendation of 1974; b)

contributing to the development of peace-loving consciousness and of a public opinion sensitive to global interdependence, the major problems facing humanity today and to human rights violations.

For the realization of its aims the Project has worked, since 1986, in the three areas of **Education, Research and Publishing**.

The **educational activities** of the Project are carried out at various levels, specified in terms of the target groups to which teaching is addressed. In particular, courses and series of lectures have been organized for the following target groups:

- a) Students -tomorrow's teachers and scientists
- b) Teachers in primary and secondary education and school advisors
- c) Broad categories of influential people such as the academics, journalists etc., and public opinion in general.

a) The programme of Education for Peace began with students of the A.U.Th., Department of Philosophy, Education and Psychology, during teacher training. In 1986, I initiated a course, at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels, with the title "**Education for Peace and Human Rights: the Approach of Social Psychology**". Some of the topics included in the course were conflicts, prejudice, discrimination, racism, co-operation, the minorities and their rights, human rights violations as presented in the Greek press, the socio-psychological aspects of genocide, etc.

The postgraduate course (MA Degree) was titled "**The Social Psychology of International Education**" and a research programme was carried out on "**The Greek schoolbooks of primary and secondary education in the light of the Recommendation of 1974-UNESCO**".

In the context of this postgraduate course remarkable research theses were completed on topics such as: the History schoolbooks of the Greek lower secondary education in the light of Education for Peace; modern Greek literature schoolbooks and Education for Peace; International Education and the Subject of Greek language in Greek primary education etc., which will be published soon.

b) At the same time we started collaborating with the important target group of school advisors and teachers in primary and secondary schools. Since the beginning of the Programme, we have offered them courses on Education for Peace and Human Rights at in-service Training Institutes all over Greece, and we have also organized seminars for practising teachers. These seminars were of an inter-disciplinary character, in order to be useful for teachers of all subjects.

c) To sensitise public opinion and/or categories of people who influence public opinion, we organized conferences and meetings with titles such as: language, information and mass media, Peace Education in pre-school years, Education for international understanding, co-operation and Peace, the children of war,

Education for a Culture of Peace etc. We consider to be of particular importance the long sessions of reflections and discussion following these lectures at which participants were able to share first-hand experience.

d) In 1992, a teaching post was created at the level of Professor, for "Social Psychology and International Education" in the Department of Philosophy, Education and Psychology³⁾, the only teaching post for Peace Education in a Greek University; its creation is of major importance for the promotion of the principles of International Education through Higher Education in Greece.

II. 1992-1996: Interdisciplinary Inter-Faculty Programme of Education for Peace and Human Rights

Since 1992, the Programme has developed into the Interdisciplinary Inter-Faculty Programme of Education for Peace and Human Rights.

In October 1992, in accordance with the decisions made during the "Experts Meeting on the Integration of International Education into Higher Education" (UNESCO, Tunis, September 21-25, 1991)⁴⁾ and following a decision of the Council of Rectors of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Education for Peace and Human Rights was introduced in the 41 Departments of the University in the form of a multi-level Project. The first step of this Project is an interdisciplinary inter-faculty course entitled "**Contemporary World Problems and the Scientist's Responsibility**".

The Programme is organised a) in the spirit of UNESCO resolutions for the promotion of a Culture of Peace through studies and research programmes of Universities, and b) following the rationale of UNESCO Associated Universities.⁵⁾

The above course has been offered since 1993 to the students of all Departments (41) of the Aristotle University, in both semesters (Winter & Spring Semesters, 4 hours weekly, 4 credit units). In each semester a new series of interdisciplinary topics is taught.

The Programme is the only one of that range, not only in a Greek University but, to our knowledge, in Mediterranean Universities as well.

The Aristotle University of Thessaloniki is the largest Greek University. It has 72,000 students and 41 academic Departments covering all the fields of science and culture from physics and biology to music and theatre studies which means that this Programme achieves a certain status and recognition.

Objectives

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- a) to enrich teaching and research programmes of the University with the global orientation and subjects of Education for Human Rights and Peace,
 - b) to show that all scientific disciplines can make an essential contribution to the creation of a Culture of Peace, and
 - c) to sensitise the future scientists in all disciplines in respect to their responsibilities as decision makers and public opinion leaders.

Disciplines involved

The Programme involves all disciplines, Humanities, Social Sciences and Sciences, which constitute the subjects of studies and research in the Aristotle University.

Until now (1996), more than 40 professors have co-operated and taught within the Programme, representing the following 17 Departments of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki: Psychology, Theology, Philosophy, History, Archaeology, Education, Law, Economics, Medicine, Veterinary Science, Forestry, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Architecture, Music, Chemical Engineering.

Professors from all Departments are invited to teach in this inter-faculty programme; I have to add that these academics are among the most well-known scientists not only in our University but internationally; and that the main characteristic of them all when accepting our invitation to contribute to this Programme is a genuine enthusiasm and the willingness to participate in it.

Enthusiasm and an active participation also characterizes the students of this Programme.

The Programme of lectures and therefore the lecturers participating in each semester is never the same, but allows flexibility, which in turn, enables even more professors and Departments to become involved and sensitised to Peace Education issues.

Since 1993, when the interdisciplinary Programme was launched, the lectures delivered have covered more than 40 topics which were thoroughly discussed with the students. The topics could be categorized as following:

1. **Contemporary World problems** (although the other thematic categories refer to world problems as well), such as AIDS, drugs, social exclusion, violence, the demographic problem etc.
2. **International Organizations, International Law, Human Rights**, such as: international protection of human rights, UNO and the protection of minorities, law and environment, Greece and neighbouring states: problems of co-existence and co-operation, international organizations and world problems etc.
3. **Environment**, such as: world environmental problems, sustainability, natural resources and world strategy for their preservation, forest destruction and its environmental consequences etc.

4. **Development**

5. **Education** and its role, such as: the school and the teacher at the threshold of the 21st century, international crisis of educational models, Education for Human Rights and Peace and the action of UNESCO, Higher Education and Culture of Peace Programmes, etc.

These topics, which belong to the subject matter of Peace Education, have shown that a) there is a close relation among all of them and b) every topic related to a world problem should be approached in a multi-faceted, interdisciplinary manner so that we have a global awareness of it and be able to find a solution. The experience gained from this programme has once more shown that world problems are the melting pot where all disciplines can meet and cooperate. As an example, I would like to mention that under the category "**Environment**" the Programme provided the context where 9 Departments "met together": Physics, Biology, Chemistry, Forestry, Law, Economics, Education, Architecture and Theology.

The way the A.U.Th. has been organized and structured until now does not make provision for an administratively autonomous, inter-faculty, interdisciplinary Programme as an independent academic unit. That is why the Programme I am presenting, "belongs" to the programme of studies of the Psychology Department as a course available to the students of all the other departments as well.

The fact that this interdisciplinary Programme is not administratively autonomous has various and serious consequences: for example, it cannot benefit from the University budget on a regular basis; consequently does not have financial autonomy. As a result, although the administrative work demanded by such a Programme is enormous, the Programme director has the "enriching" experience of playing multiple roles: planning, organizing, teaching, as well as doing all administrative and secretarial work. But the most important is that the lack of financial independence influences the entire planning; for example, it does not permit inviting experts from other Greek Universities, etc.

In addition, the fact that the Programme is not autonomous but "embedded" in the Studies of one of the Departments (the Department of Psychology) hinders the expansion and full development of the Programme so that, for example, a studying degree could be obtained, postgraduate and academic activity in general could be autonomously planned. It could be mentioned as an example, that my decision to offer the course as a 4 credits course, while all other courses offer 2 credits, has been viewed by the Department as causing uneven distribution of credits at the expense of the courses of Psychology.

Let me add that a Programme like this which attempts to surpass the boundaries of disciplines and seeks to show that contemporary world problems and their solution should be the point where all disciplines meet and co-operate, when it has to be integrated in a specialization oriented Department, runs the risk to be considered as a utopic attempt and loss of time.

III. 1997 and forwards: future steps

The immediate future steps and the expansion of the Programme are the following:

- a) Enriching doctoral studies programmes in the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki with issues which can be approached and researched only through cooperation among various disciplines and academic departments. Such doctoral research is already being carried out.
- b) Expanding the interdisciplinary Peace Education Programme from the Aristotle University to the other Greek Universities as well as creating a Network of Greek Universities for Peace Education Projects.
- c) Benefiting from the experience provided by the implementation of the Programme for training primary and secondary education officials.

Nevertheless, the full development of programmes like this would include the following:

- a) Creating new structures, academic as well as administrative, within Universities which would cover, facilitate and expand such academic initiatives.
- b) Transforming such programmes into UNESCO Chairs so that, if nothing else, they have the status of being carried out under the aegis of UNESCO. However, it seems that, even though it is self-evident, this aim cannot be easily achieved as the relevant demand to UNESCO is "evaluated" and forwarded through the UNESCO National Committees.
- c) Starting the international UNESCO Associated Universities Network and incorporating such programmes within that Network.

Education in Human Rights And Democracy: The Interdisciplinary Approach in East Africa

CHRIS MAINA PETER

Higher Education should provide an adequate number of people to fill the high-level manpower requirement of the country. It should prepare graduates for entry to specific careers. It should provide the institutional arrangements which are necessary to keep the high-level manpower force up to date and thus prevent obsolescence.
Solomon Eliufoo¹

I. The State and Human Rights in East Africa

A few years ago, to talk of human rights and even dare venture to talking about teaching human rights in any African country, and those in the East African region in particular was almost treasonable.

Even today - with multi-party political system in place and the "democratisation" process in full swing - those who talk about human rights are not the darlings of the holders of reigns of power. This is basically because observance of human rights and the so-called democratisation process has no basis in the African regimes nor have people been involved in its introduction. Everything has been introduced under intense pressure from outside - from the donors and particularly the multilateral financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) otherwise known as the "World Bank".

This does not mean that Human Rights and Democracy so introduced are irrelevant - No! They are relevant - but the method used does not auger well with a possibility of developing a sustainable process and culture of respect for human rights. This is because the things being forced from above have very little impact due to lack of grassroots basis. The majority of the people are just on the receiving end and they are not actors in the process. In this process, as usual, they have been marginalized and side-lined. Everything is being accepted FOR and ON their behalf. Such a method does not guarantee a sustainable process. However, this is not new. History is just repeating itself - only that at this juncture it is at a higher level.

This paper attempts to explain the initiation and operation of a multi-disciplinary approach to human rights and human rights education in East African which has been initiated informally at three institutions of higher learning in the East African region. In order to be able to give a clear and appreciable picture of this initiative, we propose to go back into history of this region in relation to human rights and observance of fundamental rights and freedoms. With such a background, it will be easier to appreciate and judge the initiative from an informed position and be able to compare it with experiences elsewhere.

II. The Struggle of Human Rights and Democracy in East Africa

The three East African countries became independent from Britain in the early 1960s. Tanzania - then Tanganyika in 1961;ⁱ Uganda in 1962;ⁱ and Kenya in 1963.ⁱ Thereafter they all underwent more or less the same political process. That is, while the people, in their various organisation - co-operatives, trade unions etc. had worked so hard in support of the political elite - they were abandoned on the independence day. On that day the elite who had taken over power from the colonialists went with their predecessors to the State House to celebrate with

Champaign! The people, on the other hand, went back home to wait for the fruits of independence (*Matunda ya Uhuru*). And today - more than 30 years thereafter

- they are still at home waiting for their share of Independence. Therefore, it is no wonder that an old man in a village in Tanzania was asking when will this independence end. He noted:
- there were Arabs - they came and went!
- there were Germans - they came and went!
- there were the British - they came and went!
- then came independence - when will this independence go?

That denotes that the old man, like most of the normal citizens, does not perceive any change for the better or improvement in his life with the coming of independence - hence the wish that independence should go as well - may be comes something better!

As indicated, the three East African countries underwent more or less the same political process after independence. Therefore, treatment of one as an example will suffice to shade light on what really happened to both democracy and human rights in the region. We intend to take the case of Tanzania whose facts we have at finger tips. It is more or less a representative case of what happened in the two sister states with exception of Uganda to some extent due to the rise of military dictatorship in 1971ⁱ - and up to now, notwithstanding the recent elections - it still under another form of military rule - a military rule which has been CIVIL-LIZED through the ballot box - but essentially remains military!ⁱ

III. The Fate of Bill of Rights in Tanzania

As Tanzania was coming towards independence in 1950s, negotiations began with the British over the modalities of entering the new era.

During the negotiations, the British, as usual, were insisting that in the Constitution of the new nation there should be a BILL OF RIGHTS.ⁱ That is a part of the Constitution which contains fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual (*Grundrechte*). This part of the Constitution is special because it is part of the *entrenched* areas of the Constitution. That means, it can not be changed anyhow by the Parliament. There has to be a special process to change it. At the same time, any part of the Constitution or any other law which conflicts with the Bill of Rights is said to be *null* and *void* and thus *unconstitutional*.

The British were not insisting on having a Bill of Rights in the new Constitution because they had found a new love for the people of Tanganyika - No! Far from it. They wanted to ensure that their subjects who had invested heavily and were remaining behind would be safe. The Bill of Rights was to protect these British Subjects and their property.ⁱ

The Nationalists on the other hand led by the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) strongly objected to having a Bill of Rights in the Constitution. They advanced two main reasons:

(a). The Judiciary in the country was still manned by foreigners, mainly whites hired by the British colonial regime. These judicial officers could use the presence of a Bill of Rights in the Constitution to declare most of the decisions of the new government unconstitutional.

(b). The government's priority was economic development and thus it wanted a Constitution that would not hinder it in this endeavour. A Bill of Rights would stand on its way in the attempt to execute its development plans for the people.ⁱ

It is in this context that the then Prime Minister Rashid Kawawa characterised a Bill of Rights as a *luxury* which merely invites conflicts.ⁱ As a result, two methods were adopted, symbolically recognising fundamental rights and freedoms. These were mentioning of these rights in the Preamble to the Constitutionⁱ and establishing an *Ombudsman* called Permanent Commission of Enquiry (PCE).ⁱ Both methods were ineffective and unsatisfactory.ⁱ

That was the first blow to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in the country. In absence of a Bill of Rights in the Constitution the new regime had a *carte blanche* - an OPEN CHEQUE - to do what it desired with regard to fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens. It could violate human rights with impunity alleging it was in the process of promoting development for the people.

Old colonial laws were re-activated and new draconian ones were added to the Statute book. These so-called public order legislation included: Deportation Ordinance, 1921 (Chapter 38 of the Revised Laws of Tanzania Mainland); Collective Punishment Ordinance, 1921 (Chapter 74 of the Revised Laws of Tanzania Mainland); Witchcraft Ordinance, 1928 (Chapter 18 of the Revised Laws of Tanzania Mainland); Expulsion of Undesirables Ordinance, 1930 (Chapter 39 of the Revised Laws of Tanzania Mainland); Corporal Punishment Ordinance, 1930 (Chapter 17 of the Revised Laws of Tanzania Mainland); Townships (Removal of Undesirable Persons) Ordinance, 1954 (Chapter 104 of the Revised Laws of Tanzania Mainland); Societies Ordinance, 1954 (Chapter 337 of the Revised Laws of Tanzania Mainland); Stock Theft Ordinance, 1960 (Chapter 422 of the Revised Laws of Tanzania Mainland); Area Commissioners Act, 1962 (Chapter 466 of the Revised Laws of Tanzania Mainland); Regions and Regional Commissioners Act, 1962 (Chapter 461 of the Revised Laws of Tanzania Mainland); and Preventive Detention Act, 1962 (Chapter 490 of the Revised Laws of Tanzania Mainland).

These laws were supplementing the Penal Code, 1945ⁱ which contains numerous controversial provisions. These include those dealing with: Treason (Section 39); Inciting to Mutiny (Section 45); Seditious Intention; Raising Discontent and ill will for unlawful purposes; Drilling to the use of Arms (Section 62) Unlawful Oaths to Commit Offences; Promoting War-like undertaking (Section 43); Aiding Prisoners of War to escape (Section 48); Inducing Soldiers or Police Officers to desert (Section 47); Breach of the Peace; Disorderly Behaviour at Public Meetings;

Unlawful Assembly; Riot; Duel; Illegal Training and Drilling; Prohibition of Quasi-Military Organisations and other Offences Against Public tranquillity (Sections 74-90).

The list of draconian legislation was "improved" in the later years to incorporate new and more problematic legislation such as: National Security Act, 1970;ⁱ Human Resources Deployment Act, 1983;ⁱ Economic and Organized Crime Control Act, 1984;ⁱ Emergency Powers Act, 1986;ⁱ Registration and Identification of Persons Act, 1986;ⁱ and Arms and Ammunition Act, 1991.ⁱ

All these laws made serious inroads into the fundamental rights and freedoms of the people. In most cases they were just made a stand-by instruments for potential "criminals." They hang like the Sword of Damocles on the peoples lives.

Slowly, the country was declared Democratic One-Party State. First it was *de facto* and later *de jure*.ⁱ In such a suffocating political atmosphere, one could hardly get room to talk of human rights or teaching of the same. This is because human rights violations were said to be done for and on behalf of the people. Not even the Parliament could dare question the Party.ⁱ

This political climate was equally reflected in the school curriculum. Ideological teachings were introduced indirectly under what was called Civics or Citizenship (*Uraia*) - sometimes taught by non-citizens - American Peace-corps etc. In Civics one was not supposed to be analytical or curious. You were expected to cram what you are told and reproduce it like a parrot. It was one-way traffic in Education. Typical Issues taught in a Civics class: Who is the President of Tanganyika? Who is the Secretary of the Party? When was the Party Born? On which date was the President Born? Who is the Minister for Home Affairs? And the like!

When pupils "rebelled" and wanted to be innovative, the Ministry of Education complained to the heads of the schools that they seem "to be forgetting to instil in the minds of the pupils and staff the spirit of building the nation."ⁱ They were thus urged to intensify lessons in current affairs and civics. The Ministry specifically instructed that:

The issues in this important task are the emphasis on portraying the United Republic Nationhood, the desirability of having a one-party system for national solidarity and quick progressive action, and the role the pupils are to play in building the Nation at the end of their school careers ... However, it is important to remember that schools teach citizenship and not politics.ⁱ

Like a Boy Scout, the Student or pupil was supposed to *love* his country and Government and be obedient and contented.ⁱ Here teaching of Human Rights and "politically" related subjects was a non-issue.

IV. Struggle for Human Rights from Informal Political Sector

Not all the people were happy with this system. And some decided to fall while fighting for their rights. As repression continued coated with political and

ideological justification, this group of people resisted and struggled against marginalization and for opening up of the political sphere. These were mainly those in the labour movement (Trade Unionists) and who had in fact fought side by side with the political elite in struggle for independence. Peasants, who had also actively participated in the independence struggle while organised in co-operatives were easily co-opted into the new system with the leadership being given Ministerial posts.ⁱ They were therefore a doomed force.

Those who agitated for rights were not tolerated. They were either DEPORTED to remote areas of the country - far away from their political power base under the Deportation Ordinance, 1921.ⁱ Others, more unfortunate, were detained without trial under the Preventive Detention Act, 1962.ⁱ As for political parties, their registration was withdrawn and their right to call and hold public meetings was heavily curtailed even before declaration of a one-party State.ⁱ

The Interim Constitution of 1965 officially declared Tanzania a *democratic One-Party State*.ⁱ Ten years later in 1975 the Party was declared legally *supreme*.ⁱ From then on, everything had to be done either by the party itself or under its auspices.ⁱ

The declaration of *Party Supremacy* was the last nail in the coffin carrying both Human Rights and Democracy to the grave. From then on every one was supposed to tow the party line. The party had its finger on each and everything.ⁱ Even joining the University required party recommendation of Good Conduct over and above academic qualification. And without this party recommendation there was no possibility of going for studies.ⁱ Thus the party called the tune and the duty of everybody else was to dance (to that tune).

In Kenya, the position occupied by the party in Tanzania was taken by the Chief Executive - the President. He determined what was good for the country and what all others had to do was to agree with him. President Daniel Arap Moi puts it very clearly himself:

Ladies and Gentlemen, we Kenyans are happy apart from the fact that there is widespread drought. I would like to say, while here with you, that for progress to be realised there should be no debates in newspapers on this or that. What is required is for people to work in a proper manner ... I call on all Ministers, Assistant Ministers and every other person to sing like parrots. During Mzee Kenyatta's period I persistently sang the Kenyatta tune until people said: This fellow has nothing to say except to sing for Kenyatta. I say: I didn't have ideas of my own. Why was I to have my own ideas? I was in Kenyatta's shoes and therefore I had to sing whatever Kenyatta wanted. Had I sung another song, do you think Kenyatta would have left me alone? Therefore, you ought to sing the song I sing. If I put a full stop, you should also put a full stop. this is how this country will move forward. The day you become a big person, you will have liberty to sing your own song and everybody will sing it.ⁱ

This is the view of a typical African leader and this attitude is everywhere in the continent. In Malawi, former President-for-Life Kamuzu Banda is reported to have said:

This kind of thing, where a leader says this but somebody else says that. Now who is the leader? That is not the Malawi system. The Malawi system, the Malawi style is that Kamuzu says it's that; and then it is finished.¹

With this attitude from the political leadership, there was little hope for pursuit of democracy and human rights within the official political set-up. The struggle had to take another form.

It is the closure of all avenues in the official political sector which drove the people to look for alternative means of achieving their goals.

The rallying point became the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Institutions of Higher Learning. These institutions enjoyed relative freedom and could not be pushed around by the regime. In Tanzania, the Tanganyika Law Society (TLS) - an organisation of practising advocates took a frontal role in the education, promotion, and agitation for fundamental rights and freedoms in the country. It organised conferences, workshops and meetings of all kinds which brought together people of all walks of life. TLS, though essentially a society of elite and conservative legal practitioners, was actually responsible for bringing together all informal and unofficial opposition groups to chart a way towards multi-party. It was also at one of its meetings that participants demanded for inclusion of a Bill of Rights in the Constitution and following pressure both internal and external - the regime had to concede defeat and incorporated such a Bill of Rights in the Constitution in 1985.

The Faculty of Law of the University of Dar es Salaam has also been a rallying point for demands for fundamental rights and freedoms and democracy in general in Tanzania. The Faculty has been very active in issues relating to education in Human Rights to the common people.

This is done by the Legal Aid Committee of the Faculty. Education in Human Rights to the public has taken various forms. These include:

- a) Workshops and Seminars in the rural areas - discussing with peasants and workers about their day to day problems and educating them on their rights and the law. The Committee has been to many parts of the country including Songea, Shinyanga, Kigoma, Pwani etc.
- b) Newspaper Columns in the local newspapers. This is done in both English and Kiswahili and the Committee specializes in those parts of the law that touch the common man. Family Law, Labour Law, Land Lord and Tenant Law, Police Powers etc.

This has sometimes led to problems from the government. The Government paper was once told not to give the Committee monopoly of a column on the law and this led to withdrawal of the Committee from the column.¹

- c) Haki Leaflet - meaning Justice or Rights. This Leaflet was very effective. It used to appear first monthly and later quarterly and covered important legal issues in very simple Kiswahili and also very briefly. It attracted readers among many peasants and workers all over the country. Some peasants and workers went to the extent of contributing papers and other materials for the Leaflet to continue.

d) Legal Aid Clinics: This was both educational and practical. It was aimed at assisting those who can not afford to hire advocates on their own to get legal representation free of charge. This was mainly in civil matters and matters of public interest.

In its clinics, the Committee emphasises conciliation of parties rather than litigation and particularly where parties were all of equal, but poor means. This is because in litigation - there has to be a winner and a loser and this, in the opinion of the Committee does not promote harmony in the society - and particularly among the poor and marginalised communities.

V. From a Narrow National and Parochial Perspective in the Struggle for Human Rights to a Broader East African Perspective

Realising that we all share the same political, economic and social problems and being governed by people of the same frame of mind, academicians in the East African region have decided to come together in the process of promoting democracy and human rights and a culture that goes with respect for the human person.

This has taken an informal shape because experience has indicated that any talk of human rights at official level has created more enemies than friends. Even in places where one would expect understanding like Universities and other Institutions of High Learning the attitude has been more or less like that of government bureaucrats. For example, an attempt to establish Human Rights as a full-fledged subject has always been met with objections and suspiciousness from the University Administrative circles.

Also, when the Faculty of Law wanted to establish a Human Rights Resources Unit (HURRU) - it took two full years with several write-ups to get the approval of the University of Dar es Salaam Senate. The usual questions are: Why do you need the Unit? Are there Human Rights violations in Tanzania? What is the difference between the Unit and Amnesty International? This is a University and not an agitational Institution etc.¹

It is this hostile attitude which has forced those concerned to choose the informal method of struggle for education of human rights, BUT doing things officially, openly and over board and across the table. In other words, doing everything legally.

The informal structure took three institutions:

1. Centre for Law Research International (CLARION) of Nairobi, Kenya;
2. Human Rights and Peace Centre (HURIPEC) of the Faculty of Law, Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda; and
3. Department of International Law of the Faculty of Law of the University of Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

We call the process informal because it was the officials in these institutions in their individual capacity as heads of relevant institutions who took the initiative to pursue the matter. Going through the formal official process would have led to a rock. Officialdom in Tanzania and other African countries is well known as an agonizing and spirit-killing. Adding the political climate then, we would not have reached where we are to-day.

The East African Initiative organised its 1st Conference in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania in October, 1993. The Conference was on *Law and Struggle for Democracy in East Africa*. It brought together a variety of people from the three East African countries: Lawyers, Historians, Sociologists, Political Scientists, Leaders of Political Parties, Politicians, Judges, Members of Women Groups, and Other NGOs to debate with each other over Law, Human Rights, Democracy and the political future of the region.

In the course of the week a total of 31 papers were read and thoroughly discussed. The Conference was opened by His Lordship, the Chief Justice of the United Republic of Tanzania, Hon. Mr. Justice Francis Nyalali, who had successfully chaired the Presidential Commission on One or Multi-party Political System in the country in 1991. It is his Commission's Report which led to Multi-party in Tanzania in 1992.ⁱ The Outcome of our 1st Conference is the Book: *Law and the Struggle for Democracy in East Africa*.ⁱ

We have also in addition produced another general book on constitutional reform in the region called: *In Search of Freedom and Prosperity: Constitutional Reform in East Africa*.ⁱ This book contains short and simple essays on democratisation in the three East African Countries written by various people in the region. Incidentally, following a very successful study on corruption in Kenya, our sister organisation CLARION was banned by the government of Kenya and it is only recently that the ban has been lifted.ⁱ

VI. Conclusion: The Future of Human Rights, Human Rights Education and Democracy in East Africa

The next step is the 2nd East African Conference scheduled for Kampala, Uganda in the 2nd half of 1997. This will centre on Human Rights, Democratisation and the Economy. Giving more emphasis to economic and social rights of the people of the region and how they could interact with each other informally independent of the State.

Like the Dar es Salaam Conference, the Kampala meeting will also be multi-disciplinary. We shall attempt to invite people from all walks of life to contribute to the debate because at the end of the day - this is their region. It is the strong belief of the East African Initiative that human rights and democracy and related issues concerned us all. It is not a monopoly of a chosen group, or discipline.

Therefore, success depends on working together as a team for the betterment of the East African Region.

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UNESCO and Education for Human Rights

JANUSZ SYMONIDESS

I. Introduction

Among the members of the United Nations family a special role in the area of education for human rights has quite naturally to be assigned and fulfilled by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), as the promotion of human rights is inscribed in its Constitution. The United Nations Economic and Social Council, in its resolution 314 (XI), already in 1950, invited UNESCO to encourage and facilitate teaching about the Universal Declaration in schools and adult education programmes, and through the press, radio and film

services. The International Conference on Human Rights, which met in Tehran in 1968, called upon UNESCO to develop its programmes aimed at making children aware of respect for the dignity and rights of man and at ensuring that the principles of the Universal Declaration prevail at all levels of education, particularly in institutions of higher learning, where the future cadres are trained.

The specific role of UNESCO in the teaching of human rights was also several times recognized by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights which, in 1971, urged it to examine the desirability of envisaging the systematic study and the development of an independent scientific discipline of human rights, taking into account the principal legal systems of the world with a view to facilitating the understanding, comprehension, study and teaching of human rights at university level and, subsequently, at other educational levels. In 1973 the Commission encouraged UNESCO to develop education for human rights for all and at all levels.

Responding to these requests, the General Conference of UNESCO in 1974 adopted a Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. Human rights are understood by it as being «those defined in the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants on Human Rights. That is the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966».

The Recommendation calls upon Member States to take steps to ensure that the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination become an integral part of the developing personality of each child, adolescent, young person or adult, by applying these principles in the daily conduct of education at each level and in all its form. Member States should encourage wider exchange of textbooks, especially those concerning history and geography, and should take measures for the reciprocal study and revision of textbooks and other educational materials in order to ensure that they are accurate, balanced, up-to-date, without prejudice, and enhance mutual knowledge and understanding between different peoples

In 1978, UNESCO organized in Austria the first of its congresses devoted to human rights education. In its final document, the Vienna Congress stressed that human rights education and teaching should be based on the principles which underlie the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Human Rights and other international human rights instruments. The indivisibility of all human rights should be recognized. Human rights education and teaching must aim at: fostering attitudes of tolerance, respect and solidarity, providing knowledge about human rights and developing the individual's awareness of the ways and means by which human rights can be translated into social and political reality.

An important step in the developing of human rights education was made when the International Congress on Human Rights Teaching, Information and Documentation was organized by UNESCO in Malta in 1987. It underlined that a complete system of human rights teaching and education available to all citizens and all population groups and covering all levels of education, with the broad participation of various public organizations and media, should be established by Member States.

II. The basic instruments determining UNESCO's programme and strategy in human rights education

A. World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy

The International Congress on Education for Human Rights and Democracy was organized jointly by UNESCO and the United Nations Centre for Human Rights in collaboration with the Canadian Commission for UNESCO in Montreal in March 1993. The main aim of the Congress, as formulated by the twenty-sixth session of the UNESCO General Conference (1991), was to contribute to the elaboration of future action to be taken by UNESCO «... for the promotion of human rights in the political, economic and cultural circumstances that have recently emerged and that call for fresh consideration and debate». Within this framework the objective of the Montreal Congress was to:

- highlight the achievements and identify the obstacles to overcome in the field of human rights education;
- introduce education for democracy as a complementary aspect; and
- encourage the elaboration of tools and ideas, in particular educational methods, pedagogic approaches and didactic materials, so as to give a new impetus to education for human rights and democracy.

The main result of the Congress was the World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy. It is introduced by the recommendation which states that, in spite of major progress achieved in the field of education for human rights, serious efforts still need to be made to overcome present obstacles and shortcomings as well as to meet new challenges.

The Plan is addressed to various social actors from individuals, families, groups through to States, to non-governmental organizations, the United Nations, in particular its Centre for Human Rights and specialized agencies of the United Nations system, in particular UNESCO.

As far as means are concerned, the World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy proposes seven major strategies for concerted actions to promote education for human rights and democracy, including several activities to be carried out by UNESCO, in particular the development and distribution of a standard form for planning, implementing and assessing the Plan, the strengthening

of UNESCO's Voluntary Fund for the Development of Knowledge of Human Rights Through Education and Information, and the establishment of a follow-up committee.

The ultimate purpose of the Plan is to create a culture of human rights and to develop democratic societies that enable individuals and groups to solve their disagreements and conflicts by the use of non-violent methods. Ten main lines of action from the identification of the most appropriate target groups to the design of the cost-effective and sustainable educational programmes and a global commitment to increase the resources, are needed to make education for human rights and democracy effective and comprehensive world-wide.

In order to ensure a broad and comprehensive implementation of the World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy, the following levels of action are foreseen:

- teaching human rights and democracy in the curricula of all levels of the school system;
- education for human rights and democracy in a non-formal setting;
- education for human rights and democracy in specific contexts and difficult situations.

The Plan underlined that UNESCO bears special responsibility for enhancing the quality of publications in the area of human rights education and for the best use and distribution of information, documentation and materials.

B. The Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action

At the closing meeting on 25 June 1993, the World Conference on Human Rights adopted the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action.

The Vienna Declaration is composed of a preamble and two parts. The first presents fundamental principles, standards and the most important issues of human rights. The World Conference gave strong support to the concept of the unity and universality of human rights, declaring that « All human rights are universal, indivisible and interdependent and interrelated. The international community must treat human rights globally in a fair and equal manner, on the same footing and with the same emphasis ». The Vienna Declaration also reaffirmed the right to development as a universal and inalienable right and an integral part of fundamental rights. The second part of the Vienna Declaration formulates a programme of action to be taken by States, the United Nations system and non-governmental organizations and institutions to improve the effective enjoyment of human rights by individuals including persons belonging to vulnerable groups.

One of the main results of the World Conference on Human Rights concerns the recognition of the importance of human rights education. The Vienna Declaration, in its paragraph 33, reaffirmed that States are duty-bound, as stipulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on

Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and in other international human rights instruments, to ensure that education is aimed at strengthening respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

In the programme of action, a special Part D is consecrated to human rights education. In five paragraphs (78-82), the World Conference underlined that human rights education, training and public information is essential for the promotion and achievement of stable and harmonious relations among communities and for fostering mutual understanding, tolerance and peace. It called on all States and institutions to include human rights, humanitarian law, democracy and rule of law as subjects in the curricula of all learning institutions in formal and non-formal settings. Human rights education should embrace peace, democracy, development and social justice.

The Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action in paragraph 81 states:

«Taking into account the World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy, adopted in March 1993 by the International Congress on Education for Human Rights and Democracy of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and other human rights instruments, the World Conference on Human Rights recommends that States develop specific programmes and strategies for ensuring the widest human rights education and the dissemination of public information, taking particularly account of the human rights needs of women».

The World Conference on Human Rights also requested that the proclamation of a United Nations Decade for Human Rights be considered.

C. The UN Decade for Human Rights Education

The forty-ninth session of the General Assembly in its resolution 49/184 proclaimed the ten-year period beginning 1st January 1995 the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education. The resolution declared, as formulated by the Montreal International Congress on Education for Human Rights and Democracy, that « ... education for human rights and democracy is itself a human right and a prerequisite for the realization of human rights, democracy and social justice ».

The General Assembly welcomed the Plan of Action for the Decade presented by the Secretary-General and invited governments to submit comments with a view to supplementing the Plan and appealed to all governments to contribute to its implementation.

The Plan of Action formulated five main objectives of the Decade:

- the assessment of needs and the formulation of effective strategies for the furtherance of human rights education at all school levels;
- the building and strengthening of programmes and capacities for human rights education at the international, regional, national and local levels;
- the co-ordinated development of human rights education materials;

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- the strengthening of the role and capacity of the mass media in the furtherance of human rights education;
 - the global dissemination of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

UNESCO which had substantially contributed to the elaboration of the Plan of Action for the Decade has an important role to play in the planning and initiating the process of implementation of the activities during the Decade, working closely with the Centre for Human Rights. The Plan of Action stipulates that « The High Commissioner for Human Rights, with the assistance of the Centre for Human Rights and UNESCO, shall conduct, in 1995, a preliminary survey and evaluation of existing human rights education programmes and initiatives at international, regional and national levels, and shall issue a report of the results of that survey and evaluation ».

In its decision regarding the UN Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004) and UNESCO's role and responsibilities foreseen in the Plan of Action for the Decade, (146 EX/32 and 146 EX/52, Decision 7.1.2), the Executive Board took note of the important role assigned to UNESCO in this Plan. It urged Member States to extend full support to the Secretariat in the design, implementation, evaluation and review of programmes of education for human rights, peace and democracy, as foreseen in the Plan. The Executive Board, in particular, encouraged UNESCO National Commissions to participate actively in developing national plans of action for human rights education, for an effective implementation of the activities of the Organization, as foreseen in the Plan.¹

III. UNESCO's programmes and activities related to the elaboration of a comprehensive system of human rights education

The long-term goal that UNESCO has set itself is the establishment of a comprehensive system of education and training for peace, human rights and democracy that is intended for all groups of people and embraces all levels of education, whether formal or non-formal. The Organization's strategy consists in mobilizing both individuals and institutions (governments, educators, the media, families, parliaments, businesses, trade unions, non-governmental organizations, etc.) so that everyone may receive an education and appropriate training, especially those who are in difficult circumstances, such as women, children, the elderly or disabled, minorities and indigenous peoples, refugees, displaced persons and those living in extreme poverty.

UNESCO collaborates first and foremost with governments in framing national policies and strategies designed, in particular, to improve curricula and textbooks, teaching methods and the actual functioning of educational institutions so that they

come to lead the field in the exercise of human rights, the practice of democracy, learning to be tolerant and appreciating cultural diversity.

A. UNESCO Advisory Committee on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy

In promoting education for human rights, democracy and peace, and to follow-up the implementation of the UNESCO and UN instruments in this field, an active role is played by the UNESCO Advisory Committee on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy, established by the Director-General in December 1994 as a follow-up to the Montreal World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy. In its first meeting in April 1995, the Committee considered the role of UNESCO in the context of the Decade and recommended a number of concrete actions with regard to the systematic and comprehensive monitoring of the implementation of all UNESCO and UN instruments dealing with education for peace, human rights and democracy.

The Committee considered it important to involve more actively decision-makers and public authorities for spreading such education, notably by way of preparation of educational material, and to increase collaboration with specialized networks and educational partners of UNESCO as well as co-operation with the UN system.

The need for carrying on such action was emphasized during the second meeting of the Committee, held at UNESCO Headquarters from 27-29 March 1996. The recommendations of the Committee underline the need for joint, co-ordinated action with National Commissions and public authorities in the evaluation and planning of national policies in this field, with a view to UNESCO's contribution to the implementation of the Plan of Action for the Decade.

B. Preparation and dissemination of educational materials and manuals

The preparation of educational aids for higher and non-formal education remains a priority. A *Manual on Human Rights*, designed for universities, is under preparation to be published in 1997 in English and, later on, in French, Spanish and Russian. It covers a range of themes taking into consideration current developments and trends in the field of human rights, and the need to promote knowledge and research on them in institutions of higher education and learning. This publication will encourage universities and professional and vocational training institutions to introduce curricula and innovative teaching aids on peace, human rights and democracy. The manual has been designed to give a fresh impulse to human rights education, with regard to present day challenges and the need for new objectives. It will comprise, in one concise volume, a diversified range of expertise on higher education and human rights.

Two important educational aids on democracy and human rights, have been prepared and published. *Democracy: Questions and Answers*: Following the English version (the title in English is *Introducing Democracy: 80 Questions and*

Answers, 1995), this book was published in Armenian, Bulgarian (1995/ 1996), Greek (1996), Polish (1996), Arabic, French, Spanish, Russian (1996) and should also appear by the end of 1996 in Czech, Korean, Nepali and Swedish. *Human Rights. Questions and Answers*. The English version of the new edition of this popular teaching aid, completely revised and updated, is planned for 1996. Arabic, Spanish, Russian, Armenia, Bulgarian, German versions should be published in 1997. Other linguistic versions are envisaged for 1998-1999.

A new issue of *Major International Human Rights Instruments* is being prepared (to be published in August 1996). This publication includes data on the state of ratification of human rights instruments, both universal and regional and has proved to be valuable reference material for human rights education.

UNESCO publishes since 1987 a *World Directory of Human Rights Research and Training Institutions*. Its third edition was prepared in 1995. The Directory provides information notably on research themes and on specialists working in the field of human rights as well as on international co-operation. It helps to establish collaboration between institutions and enable the creation of networks of research and training institutions in order that specialists as well as non-specialists can all contribute to the promotion and protection of human rights.

C. Co-operation with educational partners, development of specialized networks

In its endeavours for promoting education for human rights, peace and democracy, UNESCO co-operates closely with the human rights activists, educational partners, academic community and non-governmental organizations by way of its networks and specialized structures.

UNESCO Chairs on Human Rights, Democracy and Peace are being established to promote an integrated system of research, training and information activities and to facilitate sub-regional and regional co-operation between researchers and teachers. Already, 19 Chairs have been created in different region - Africa, Europe, Arab States and Latin America. It is planned to reinforce co-operation between the Organization and the Chairs and among them. Several new chairs will be created during 1996-1997.

The meeting of Directors of Human Rights Institutes organized every year by UNESCO provides an opportunity for discussing new modalities of action for human rights education at institutional levels.

The seventh annual meeting of the Directors of Human Rights Institutes, organized jointly by the Institute for Training in Human Rights of the Paris Bar and UNESCO was held at UNESCO Headquarters (18-19 January 1996). The meeting enabled the participants to exchange information on teaching and research as well as co-operation between UNESCO and the High Commissioner for Human Rights and the Centre for Human Rights.

UNESCO has developed institutionalized collaboration with non-governmental organizations through the UNESCO-NGO Standing Committee on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy, making it possible for over 60 non-governmental organizations to engage in concerted action for human rights education, both formal and non-formal.

UNESCO collaborates with the member states in the evaluation and elaboration of national policies, programmes and strategies for promoting human rights education through the expanding Participation Programme which has proved to be a unique and valuable modality for providing financial, technical and expert assistance to Member States. A growing number of demands concerning human rights education are addressed to the Organization.

A Memorandum of Understanding, signed between the High Commissioner for Human Rights and the Director-General of UNESCO in October 1995 provides the framework for further developing and strengthening co-operation between the two institutions. Joint programmes and common activities for ensuring most effective implementation of the Plan of Action for the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004) are being developed. These activities aim, *inter alia*, at elaboration, implementation and evaluation of national policies, programmes and strategies, establishment of national focal points and strengthening of existing networks, development of educational material, etc. UNESCO and the Centre for Human Rights are also complementing their efforts for disseminating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in as many languages versions as possible.

D. UNESCO and education for the rights of the child

UNESCO was from the very beginning involved in the process of the elaboration of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and now it is undertaking various actions aimed at its dissemination and implementation. This interest is determined by manifold reasons.

Firstly, the Convention protects the cultural rights of the child which are within the direct field of competence of the Organization. Thus, in accordance with Article 13, the child has the freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of the child's choice. In Article 28, States Parties recognize the right of the child to education and, by Article 31, they are obliged to respect and promote the right of the child to participate fully in cultural and artistic life.

Goals for children and development in the 1990s adopted by the World Summit mention UNESCO among the relevant international organizations which were consulted in its elaboration. These goals, two of which are directly within the scope of UNESCO provide for: «(e) by the year 2000, universal access to basic education by at least 80 per cent of primary school-age children; (f) reduction of the adult illiteracy rate (...) to at least half its 1990 level with emphasis on female literacy».

Secondly, Article 29 of the Convention declares that the education of the child shall be directed, *inter alia*, to: «(b) the development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations »; (...) « (d) the preparation of the child for a responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin». This is very much in line with the UNESCO concepts of education of peace, human rights and democracy and with Article 5 of the UNESCO Convention and Recommendation against Discrimination in Education. UNESCO activities aimed at the dissemination and popularisation of the Convention are aimed at children, special professional groups and the general public. A special role in the education of children is played by the Associated Schools Project. The Project now embraces more than 3,500 schools spread over 125 countries. From the very outset, the study of human rights has been one of the main ASP themes and a wide range of educational approaches and actions have been developed with a view to imparting knowledge on human rights instruments and in shaping commitments, attitudes and behaviour conducive to respect for human rights. Pupils often learn of children's basic needs which are less abstract than rights for small children. Once these needs have been identified, discussions focus on meeting them and learning about their articulation in keeping with the Declaration on the Rights of the Child and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The text of these instruments, as well as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UNESCO Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1974) are used as a point of departure in the case of older children.

To make the Convention known to the general public, the Organization helps to translate it into local languages and prepares various publications such as the *UNESCO Courier* on «Children in Danger» or «Protecting Children from the Scourge of War». The Organization also encourages non-governmental organizations to publish and distribute materials relevant to the Convention.

UNESCO is deeply concerned with violence in schools and on the screen. The Organisation examines the record of national education systems in their task of educating children. Among other matters of concern, attention is given to questions such as discipline in school, relationship between staff and children, the care of children in schools (especially of children of minorities), the openness and tolerance of the education system.

The Organization is undertaking an international comparative study of research on violence within schools, a study financed by the Government of Japan. The results will be published in 1997. Besides an experimental inter-regional project will address the problem of violence in schools and promote community conflict management. This initiative is being taken by UNESCO Associated Schools

Project to examine effective ways and means to eliminate violence in schools, in particular, in violence-prone schools in inner cities.

One of the first educational actions initiated by UNESCO in this framework is the Interregional Project for Culture of Peace and Non-Violence in Educational Institutions. The guidelines for the project were developed in Sintra, Portugal, in May 1996, at an international forum of educational experts from around the world many of them coming from schools located in areas of urban violence and war-torn societies. The project will establish a network to facilitate exchange of experiences and to provide recognition and resources to those working for a culture of peace and non-violence in schools, with an emphasis on regions of the world which suffer from violent conflict.

As regards the exposure of children to violence, hatred and intolerance in the media, an international round table on non-violence, tolerance and television was organized by UNESCO, with IPDC financial assistance, in New Delhi in April 1994. Furthermore, at the request of the Government of Sweden, UNESCO has co-financed and co-organized the international conference on violence on the screen and the rights of the child in Lund in September 1995. In response to recommendations made at these two meetings, UNESCO is encouraging the creation of an international clearing house on screen violence at a university in Europe capable of disseminating information through a world-wide electronic network.

IV. Concluding remarks

The obligation to develop human rights education is already well-established in international human rights law. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is the first instrument which in its article 26, para. 2, demanded that « Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace ». This formulation was repeated literally in Article 4 of the Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960).

In Article 13 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) States Parties agreed «... that education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity, and shall strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. They further agreed that education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society and « ... promote understanding, tolerance and friendship ».

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965) in Article 7 imposes on States Parties an obligation to accept immediate and effective measures, particularly in the fields of teaching, education, culture and information, with a view to combating prejudices which lead to racial

discrimination, whereas the Convention on the elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979) in its Article 10 requires that States Parties take appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure their equal rights with men in the field of education.

In spite of unquestionable progress achieved in the promotion and development of human rights education by the United Nations system, States, international governmental and non-governmental organizations and national institutions, serious efforts still need to be made to overcome present obstacles and shortcomings and to meet new challenges.

At present, human rights topics can hardly be seen as being integrated into school curricula in the teaching of such subjects as history, geography, civic education or languages. With the exception of law schools and faculties, human rights subjects are introduced slowly and with difficulty into higher education institutions, which means that teachers and journalists are unprepared to participate actively in human rights education.

The shaping of attitudes and behavioural patterns requires not only knowledge and instruction about human rights but also everyday practice in and out-of school and in public life. A human rights culture cannot be built without the entire participation of all social actors and the whole of civil society.

In developing human rights education, States and the United Nations are confronted with numerous challenges concerning the preparation of teaching materials, innovative methods and equality of educators, etc. However, the real progress in human rights education is closely linked with the need to reach, through radio and television, the unreachable and the excluded, as well as the vast masses of the illiterate and the millions of children who do not even have an opportunity to learn the rudiments of education. From this point of view, the emphasis on « education for all » and « life-long education » as well as the promotion of « teaching without frontiers » are of paramount importance.

Global Education: The Own and the Alien

CHRISTOPH WULF

How to cope with the other or the alien is one of the central problems in global education, since in most global issues the understanding of something new and not yet known is needed. Therefore global education has to do with the alien - with the other. Understanding the other and having a tolerant attitude towards it is not only one of the major educational goals in the Unesco declaration on international education, it is equally important in education for peace and human rights. In the

efforts to achieve an understanding of the other the assumption is made that this understanding almost automatically leads to tolerance and cooperation. Unfortunately this is not always the case.

Since the beginning of modern age European culture has tried to understand other cultures and other human beings. For this purpose it has developed various strategies of understanding, communication and interaction. In many cases these strategies served more the *egoistic* interests of the Europeans than the interests of other countries and didn't lead to mutual understanding and cooperation. In the case of the indigenous people of Latin-America and the invasion of the Spanish conquerors Todorov's study has shown, that on the side of the Spanish conquerors "understanding" became a power strategy used to subject the indigenous population. "Understanding" served for manipulation and suppression. A similar use of "understanding" is often made in political, social and educational situations.

Even when the misuse of "understanding" is not that obvious, a critical view on the concept of understanding the alien is needed. In many cases "understanding" only means to assimilate the alien by reducing it to what is known and familiar. This process destroys the alien. If the alien is conceived as the radical other, it is not possible to assimilate it by means of language and thought. Therefore it is important to accept the fact that the other can not be assimilated without being destroyed. There is and there will always be a difference between the own and the alien. To come to know this difference is of central importance for global education, since awareness of this experience enlarges the horizon and helps to avoid measuring the alien in terms of the own and the familiar. The experience of a non-reducible alien leads to the the experience of relativity, providing a central prerequisite for the success of global education.

The encounter of the other could help to get rid of stereotypes which are being used to reduce complexity and insecurity as experienced in a first encounter with the alien. In a first contact with the other stereotypes can hardly be avoided. It needs an effort to get rid of them and to be open for the other and for the experience of difference. This openness and awareness of difference can help to accept relativity, which can contribute to improve the understanding not only of the other, but also of one's own culture.

The European civilisation has always been tempted to neglect or to destroy the difference between its own cultures and other ones. This mostly happened by means of assimilation. In this processes the alien has been transformed into the same: The production of sameness instead of the acceptance of difference is a widely used strategy to refuse the challenge of the alien. In global education this attitude towards the alien has to be changed. Otherwise European egocentrism, logocentrism and ethnocentrism will prevent the success of global education.

“Understanding the other” as a central goal of global education is not yet perceived adequately. There is the assumption, that “understanding” is a relatively simple process depending mainly on the good will of the individual. Because of this assumption it is often not perceived that a complete understanding of the alien is not possible but that, nevertheless, the consciousness of this fact is essential for the way we conceptualize and cope with the alien.

In cultural anthropology, conceived as the social science specialized in research on the alien, long discussions took place about the difficulties of understanding and representing the alien. In the early years of cultural anthropology there was almost non knowledge of the epistemological problems involved in doing research on alien cultures. Researchers perceived and described the reality of other cultures on the basis of participatory observation. Epistemological and methodological thinking made clear, that - observation based on understanding is far away from providing the reality of other cultures. The personal and cultural prerequisites implied in the observation process determine considerably what is perceived and represented as the reality of alien cultures. There is never one concept of reality, but always several and even contradictory ones regarding alien cultures. Being aware of these limits in the process of understanding the alien, Clifford Geertz suggested “thick description” as a way to cope with the radical otherhood of the alien. Multidimensional descriptions probably help to improve the complexity of the perceived phenomena, but they cannot ensure the representational adequacy of the reality of the other. There will always be a gap between the alien culture and its representation. This also happens, when ethnographers focus on texts produced by members of alien cultures. Even in those cases the ethnographer provides the framework for representation and selects the documents accordingly. Consequently “understanding” the alien can only be fragmental and therefore pluralistic. The awareness of that situation is an important prerequisite to cope adequately with the alien and to avoid strategies which reduce the alien to the similar or even to the same.

In global education the awareness of the complexity of the alien and of resistance to assimilation is of central importance for the avoidance of the shortcomings due to *egocentrism*, *logocentrism* and *ethnocentrism*, which are often only combined to reduce the complexity of the other or to destroy the alien.

European *egocentrism* produced colonialism with its suppression of other peoples and cultures. Western *egocentrism* is also evident in modern world economy and modern information and media policy. Many attempts are made to dominate the world by propagating the Western way of life economically and culturally. European individualism has many positive and negative outcomes; its *egocentrism* has to be considered in its specific historical and cultural context.

Global education is confronted with this individualism and its deep-rooted egocentrism and has to look for means to cope with it.

The central role of *logocentrism* in European culture also needs to be considered in global education, since it provides a specific view on the world which sometimes leads to conflicts with other views and perspectives. In regard to other cultures rationality provides an important tool for understanding and cooperation. Nevertheless it needs an awareness of the limits of rationality and especially of instrumental rationality for the understanding of other cultures.

Since it is impossible to escape *ethnocentrism*, the ethnocentric foundation of knowledge, attitudes and values has to be dealt with in global education. Students have to become conscious of the ethnocentric prerequisites of their understanding the world, the other and themselves. This is only possible in the contact, encounter and confrontation with the alien. The experience of the alien makes it possible to come to know one's own cultural and ethnic foundations. It is the experience of the difference which has educational effects.

The problem of the alien has the following three dimensions:

- Value judgements on the other. How do I evaluate the other? Do I like or do I dislike it?
- How do approach the other? Do I reduce it to my stereotypes and expectations or do I find ways to enlarge my horizon by assimilating myself in the experience of the alien?
- How much do I know about the other and how substantial is my knowledge of it?

In global education these three dimensions are interrelated. Their consideration contributes to the acceptance of the exteriority of the other. This implies the willingness and the ability to cope with the limitations of one's own personality and the challenge of difference on the side of the other. The individual does not form a unity; it consists of many different parts, which follow their own sometimes contradictory dynamics. Freud expressed a similar view in his statement "The ego is not master in his house"; and Rimbaud was even more radical in his believe "I is another". If the individual is confronted with the alien in himself and is aware of it, than this is a good prerequisite for understanding the alien in other cultures.

The experience of the alien has to take into consideration a doublemode of history: the historical ideosyncrasy of the alien and that of the individual confronted with the alien. Only on the basis of the double mode of history an adequate understanding of the other is possible.

Identity and alterity do not exclude each other. There is no identity of an individual without the other. You also can not imagine a culture or nation without relations to other cultures or nations. The alien can be conceived as the ever changing relation between different “worlds”. This can be between the “world” of an individual and the “world” of another culture. It is the quality of the relation between different “worlds” which determine what is alien or familiar. Global education deals with the particular and with the universal. Their relationship is challenge and difficulty at the same time. The alien is needed to develop a particular identity and an understanding of oneself and of one’s own foundations. In focusing on the alien global education also contributes to the understanding of what is known and familiar.

Global education has to develop the ability of *heterological thinking*. Heterological thinking starts in with the point of view of the other. This implies a consciousness of the limitations of one’s own world view and its relativity. On the basis of this awareness new perspectives on the alien and new experiences with the other are possible. A more complex perception of the world is the consequence. There is no longer a single world or a single perception of reality. The world is perceived as a construction; different interpretations of perceptions and different experiences create a large variety of world views. Radical pluralism is the consequence of heterological thinking. Pluralism and heterological thinking are a challenge to global education.

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Summary of the Discussion

KLAUS V. RAUSSENDORFF

The participants of the workshop, scientists concerned with higher education and the international dimension of learning, coming from five different countries, together with representatives of UNESCO and Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, discussed the topic of "Global Education and Sustainable Development" from a broad range of views and approaches. The main issues raised and the general spirit of the sometimes effervescent debate can be summarized as follows:

I. Global Education: a Reflection of the Global Problematique

The process of what is called the globalization of the world economy, which has been with us now for some decades, and the more recent end of the cold war and its dramatic shifts in power relations is causing fundamental societal changes. They can be felt in almost all spheres of society at local, national, regional and global levels. Obviously higher education as well as the educational system as a whole is deeply affected by these developments. There is also a formidable intellectual challenge particularly for those concerned with the international dimension of higher education. There seems to be a need for redefinition of what in UNESCO circles used to be called "international education", traditionally comprising education for peace, international understanding, human rights, democracy and for environmental responsibility. The view was expressed that, if the globalizing dynamics of the world system can only be understood in a transdisciplinary holistic way, then the various educational aims of international education and its various issues and methods must also be seen as constituting an integral unity. Therefore as a response to what the Club of Rome already some time ago has termed the global problématique the notion of global education has come up precisely to reflect this new reality. Other terms have been proposed earlier, such as education for global responsibility, education for humanistic values, education for global citizenship or international civic education. Whatever the emphasis, higher education is called upon to play a leading role in preparing people for a livable future. This requires a much deeper understanding of the relationship between the real globalization process and global awareness as promoted by higher education. In this challenging process of intellectual endeavour the concept of sustainable development is considered by many as the most appropriate frame of reference.

II. Some features of the present world in crisis

In the discussion it was pointed out that the idea of democracy had gained world wide acceptance. But several speakers referred also to a widespread feeling of crisis, even of a threatening global harakiri, a mood which is fuelled by phenomena like the degradation of the environment, climatic change, rapid extinction of species, depletion of water and energy resources, social and ethnic conflicts within societies, streams of refugees, an increasing debt burden both on public and private households, economic polarization, drug abuse, crime, corruption, inefficient government, unemployment etc. In the view of some speakers all these features of the present world crisis spell out a failure of real democracy and real capitalism of today to create conditions and mechanisms of sustainable development.

Under present conditions there is little hope for a way back to full employment. Even the welfare state, which was described by one speaker as a way of putting "some humanity into efficiency", is being dismantled in practice, and questioned in theory. The latest UNDP report shows that some 100 states of the world are now in a worse condition than years ago. The discrepancy between rich and poor countries has widened from a ratio of 30:1 to 60:1.

Discussing the chances for a new stable world situation, one speaker pointed out, that it is not possible yet to make any rational estimate both timewise and structurally. There is a remarkable uncertainty in assessing the probability of various scenarios of the relationship of future "world players" like China, India, South East Asia, the islamic world, the European Union, the USA and NAFTA, Russia, Latin America and Africa.

The question was raised, wether European societies would not have to follow the "Singaporean model" by limiting the scope of individual freedom in exchange for improved efficiency, social order and security. In view of Asean forms of collectivism and in view of the ecological crisis there might be neither individual escapes nor individualistic solutions: only new forms of collectivism might offer the appropriate answers also for the West.

But also an appeal for caution was voiced very clearly: one must not be foggy about the globalization phenomena. We need to develop a much deeper understanding of the world as a whole.

III. The Challenge for Higher Education

There was agreement that the institutions of higher learning are deeply affected by global pressures. While in the last decades great achievements were made world

wide both in the total number of student enrollment and with regard to international mobility of teachers and students in higher education, there is the pinch of financial constraints, which is felt by most universities. As a consequence the institutional set up of higher education has been forced to diversify in various directions. The search for private funding is often a very time consuming necessity. In the countries of the South like Tanzania structural adjustment threatens the whole system of an autonomous national higher education and makes its continued existence a question of national emancipation or permanent dependence on foreign influence.

But in the face of global challenges the system of higher education suffers also from impediments which are deeply rooted in the university itself, both methodologically and structurally, and which must be overcome, if we want to create a vision of the future on the basis of which the institutions of sustainable societies can be built. Some speakers complained that the global phenomena of crisis seemed to be largely ignored by mainstream science. While the age of interdisciplinary learning and research has been proclaimed for quite some time, still the structural features of universities do not favour the search for comprehensive scientific answers to the needs of our societies. One speaker made the point that there is a priority of research over teaching, of disciplinary research over multidisciplinary approaches, of specialized research communities over integrated work in one field. Realistically therefore the limits for reform were assessed to be rather narrow. Change is mostly the result of the enthusiasm of one or two individuals, as witnessed for example by the interdisciplinary inter-faculty course on "Contemporary World Problems and the Scientist's Responsibility", which was presented to the workshop by Prof. Dimitra Papadopoulou. Another personal experience shared with the other participants were the activities of Prof. Hartmut Spitzer at the university of Hamburg. He reported that, while he had given up the university as a place of societal (and teaching) innovation, in 1991 an International Network of Engineers and Scientists for Global Responsibility (INES) was founded, the membership of which world wide actually comprises 71 organisations and 150 individuals. He also reported on an initiative for the promotion of the "Local Agenda 21 process in Hamburg.

IV. The need for intercultural dialogue

The participants agreed that one important concern of global education was the dialogue between various social actors from different cultural backgrounds and countries. The intercultural dialogue is interlinked both with the state of international relations and with multicultural issues in the domestic sphere. Two problems were highlighted: There is often not a lack of knowledge about people from foreign countries. What is important and often problematic is the use which is made of such knowledge. It often serves only to support stereotypes. It is not

sufficient even to overcome the sense of unbridgeable strangeness described by one speaker. Such hostile attitudes cannot be made to vanish by only just giving still more information. In fact understanding the other person from a culturally different background is largely also a matter of emotional motives. Therefore teachers and students must prepare for intercultural dialogue not just by teaching and learning. Very often they must change their attitudes. And such behavioural changes will hardly occur unless one gets involved in difficult situations or comes into conflict with someone else.

The second problem mentioned is the imbalance of international power relations which makes the intercultural dialogue basically unequal. Universities can emphasize and sharpen cultural differences in order to deal with them. This in the view of one participant was the case with the debates about Fukuyama and Huntington on the conflicts of the future. Obviously we cannot understand everything about all other peoples. But this is not at all necessary. What we must only understand are the issues which are important to all of us, in which we all share a common interest. Realistically this should be the aim to be achieved by networking research teams and by student and staff mobility. Another way of making inroads into the western dominance of the intellectual debate should consist in giving a chance to authentic voices from the south, which are almost totally absent from the mainstream media. In this sense the UNESCO chair at Trier university is used to invite scholars mainly from "The South" to give lectures on "Europe in an international perspective".

V. Possibilities for action

Participants felt that both staff and students concerned with educating and training for international civic responsibility need to develop further all possible contacts among themselves both across the scientific disciplines and across the borders of countries and cultures. Thus more international networking should be a primary concern of educators for a livable future. Networking has two interdependent objectives:

In the first place international networking is to be conceived of as a vehicle of institutional change in higher education allowing for a better reflection and a deeper understanding of the global problématique.

Secondly it can and should be seen as an important stimulus for research in the field of societal change related to globalizing trends.

The workshop has come up with two suggestions:

1. Proposal for a "Global Education Network"

It was proposed that scientists concerned with the international dimension in higher education should strengthen their contacts in order to support each other. The setting up of a "Global Education Network" was considered a most convenient way. Such a network should be open for a great variety of methodological approaches (like i.a. GENIE and GLN) and for more regionally oriented subnetworks i.e for Europa, Africa etc. Functions of such a "Global Education Network" would consist in publishing a news letter, serving as a clearing house, promoting the exchange of information, of experience and of instruction material, and last not least in organizing conferences. It should be conceived of as an important tool for the building up of the UNESCO Associated Universities Network.

2. Proposal for a research network on "European Integration in the Process of Globalization", suitable for TMR funding from the EU

Such a research programme would require the participation of at least 5 research teams (post-doctoral staff) from at least 3 different EU countries or "associated countries", while the participation of East European countries would be desirable but would have to be funded from other EU sources. It was announced that the Centre for European Studies, Trier would circulate a letter to interested institutions.

Finally it was pointed out that the issue of "gobal education" will feature prominently also on the agenda of an international conference on higher education organized by UNESCO in 1998.